

GAZETTEER OF INDIA
NAGALAND
MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

सत्यमेव जयते

NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS



MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT



by

Dr. B. B. Ghosh M.A. B.T. Ph.D.

GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND
K O H I M A
1979

No map is given because there is boundary dispute
with Assam.



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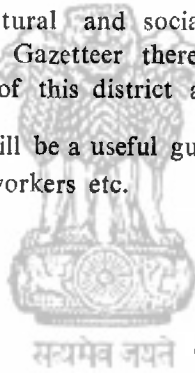
FOREWORD

I take this opportunity to express my pleasure in introducing the Gazetteer of Mokokchung District, the fourth in the series of Nagaland District Gazetteers, to the public. The work is the result of hard labour of Dr. B. B. Ghosh, Editor, Nagaland District Gazetteers and his team of workers as well as the keen interest taken by Miss Chubala Ao, Joint Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, Art and Culture Department, and Sri M. Alemchiba Ao, Joint Director Art and Culture.

The writing of gazetteer of this district is particularly difficult in view of paucity of written materials. Except Ao Nagas by J. P. Mills and Ao Naga Tribes of Assam by W. E. Smith, there is no authentic work on this district to make a thorough study of the historical, cultural and social life of the people of this district. The present Gazetteer therefore is expected to fill the gap of our knowledge of this district and its people.

I hope the volume will be a useful guide to the administrators, and welfare and research workers etc.

Dated Kohima,
the 3rd September, 1979.



N. I. Jamir
Chief Secretary to the
Government of Nagaland.

P R E F A C E

Mokokchung District Gazetteer is the fourth in the series of District Gazetteers of Nagaland, and it has come out in a quick succession of Zunheboto and Wokha which have been published in March and May respectively this year. The first district gazetteer is Kohima and it was published in 1970. The long gap of nine years is due to the fact that the post of the Editor was lying vacant for all practical purposes, for several years. I joined in July 1975 and prepared three gazetteers, viz, Zunheboto, Mokokchung and Wokha, within September 1977. Then it has taken a long time for approval and printing etc

Nagaland originally had three districts, namely Kohima Mokokchung and Tuensang, but in December 1973 it has been divided into seven districts by breaking the former districts—Mokokchung was divided into three viz, Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. Though the districts were reorganised in December 1973, no district-wise statistics are available even by now. Therefore we had to depend on the statistics of the original Mokokchung district in most cases. In respect of population of course we have worked out the details of the present Mokokchung district out of the figures of the former Mokokchung district.

The draft of this gazetteer was approved by the State Advisory Board in July 1978. The draft was also gone through by Shri N. I. Jamir, IAS, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, and the draft was corrected in light of his comments. In the meantime the comments of Shri R. S. Bedi, the Chief Judicial Magistrate, Mokokchung, and Shri Kumar, an IAS Officer serving in Mokokchung, were available and those were incorporated as far as practicable.

I will be failing in my duty, if I do not express my thanks to Dr. P. N. Chopra, M.A, Ph.D, Editor, District Gazetteers and staff of the Central Gazetteer Unit, Union Ministry of Education, New Delhi, for their effective role in planning and co-ordinating the

work of preparation of the District Gazetteers. The Unit scrutinized the draft of this volume with great care and made several helpful suggestions with a view to improving the standard and quality of the publication.

I am thankful to my Controlling Officer, Shri Alemchiba Ao, M.Sc, Joint Director, Art and Culture, Government of Nagaland, for his valuable suggestions from time to time. I am thankful to Shri Allem Longkemer, B.A, and Shri N. M. Ngullie, B.A, my two Compilers, for the assistance rendered by them. I am also thankful to Sri P. Inaho, B. A , Compiler, who replaced Sri Allem Longkemer in November 1978, for his help during the final stage of printing of this gazetteer. My thanks are due to various departments of the State Government for various help, particularly to Information, Tourism and Publicity Department, Agriculture Department, and Forest Department.

I am also thankful to my staff, for their co-operation in various works, whose names are given below with reference to their work, direct and indirect. The persons mentioned under Direct group deserve special mention because they were directly connected with the work of preparation of the gazetteer.

(a) Direct

1. Shri P. K. Deb, B.A, Stenographer.
2. Shri T. Peseye, B.A, Proof Reader.
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5. Shri G. D. Limbu, Driver.
6. Shri Khreisevi, Peon.
7. Shri Krunio, Peon.
8. Shri A. Panger Aier, Chowkidar.

In fine I place this volume, Mokokchung District Gazetteer, to the reading public at large, and the people of Mokokchung district in particular with the hope that it will be useful to them.

B. B. GHOSH

Editor,
Nagaland District Gazetteers,
Kohima, Nagaland.

Dated, Kohima,
the 3rd September 1979.



CONVERSION TABLE

Length

- 1 inch = 2.54 centimeters
- 1 foot = 30.48 centimeters
- 1 yard = 91.44 centimeters
- 1 mile = 1.61 kilometers

Area

- 1 square foot = 0.093 square meter
- 1 square yard = 0.836 square meter
- 1 square mile = 2.59 square kilometers
- 1 acre = 0.405 hectare

Volume

- 1 cubic foot = 0.028 cubic meter

Capacity

- 1 gallon (Imperial) = 4.55 litres
- 1 seer (80 tola) = 0.937 litres

Weights

- 1 tola = 11.66 grams
- 1 chhattak = 58.32 grams
- 1 seer = 933.10 grams
- 1 maund = 37.32 kilograms
- 1 ounce = 28.35 grams
- 1 pound = 453.49 grams
- 1 ton = 1.016.05 kilograms

Temperature

$$\text{Fahrenheit} = \frac{9}{5} \text{ Celsius or Centigrade} + 32$$

$$\text{Celsius or Centigrade} = (\text{Fahrenheit minus } 32) \times \frac{5}{9}$$

Metric Weights & Measures

Length

- 10 millimeters = 1 centimeter
- 100 centimeters = 1 meter
- 1,000 meter = 1 kilometer

Area

100 square millimeters = 1 square centimeter

10,000 square centimeters = 1 square meter or one centiare

100 square meters = 1 acre

100 acres = 1 hectare

100 hectare or 10,00,000 square meters = 1 sq. kilometer

Volume

10,00,000 cubic centimeters = 1 cubic meter

Capacity

1,000 millilitres = 1 litre

1,000 litres = 1 kilolitre

Weight

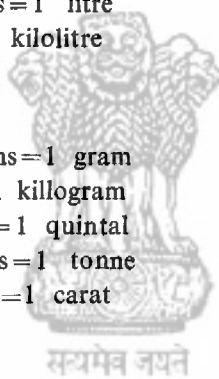
1,000 milligrams = 1 gram

1,000 grams = 1 kilogram

100 kilograms = 1 quintal

1,000 kilograms = 1 tonne

200 milligrams = 1 carat



GAZETTEER OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Introduction

Mokokchung is one of the present seven districts of Nagaland. Formerly Nagaland had only three districts such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. Later, in December 1973 it was divided into seven—Kohima was divided into two, such as Kohima and Phek, Mokokchung was divided into three, such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto, and Tuensang was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon. Thus the former Mokokchung has been divided into three districts. But though it has been divided into three districts, their boundaries have not yet been demarcated. Therefore the area of the present Mokokchung district, or for that the areas of the other two districts, cannot be given here. However, the former Mokokchung district was 3852 square kilometre in area and the present Mokokchung will be little more than one-third of that (ie, approximately 1400 sq. km.).

The population of the present Mokokchung district, according to 1971 census, is 82,852¹. Ao is the most important tribe of this district and practically the entire tribal population except a few-hundred others.

Origin of the Name Mokokchung

To trace out the origin of the name Mokokchung it is necessary as well as important to tell about the story of the founding of Mokokchung village. The Aos, after coming from Chungliyimti, their first village, settled in a place which they named as Soyim. But unfortunately, due to the untimely and unnatural death of a certain Unger (Councillor or Chief) they abandoned the village and left for another place known as Koridang. From Koridang the Aos scattered to different places whereas some

1. Source - 1971 census.

went back to the old place (Soyim) they had once abandoned, and called it as Ungma, which means loss of Unger. Later, it is told, one day a certain man, Kuradi by name, while going on hunting games by chance found a place suitable for human habitation. Returning to the village he suggested to some of his friends to settle in the new found place, and they readily responded and agreed. So, they decided to form a village by themselves. But the people of Soyim were not happy that their own brethren should go away to establish a new village, leaving them behind. The villagers, therefore, pleaded with them expressing their wish to live together. Despite their request the outgoing group did not stay back and they went apart from the parent village and founded a new village which they named as Mokokchung. It was so named because they set up the new village in defiance of the wishes of the parent village. The word "Mokok" stands for defiance and 'Chung' means the act of going apart (from the parent village) and thus the village is called Mokokchung.

Before the coming of the Britishers the present site of Mokokchung Town was a thick forest. But it is told that many centuries ago a certain woman named Sangtamla stayed on the hillock where the present Deputy Commissioner's Compound is situated. Since Sangtamla lived there it gave rise to the name of the place as Sangtamla Kimong (Sangtamla's foundation). It was quite close to Mokokchung village. And after the coming of Britishers it was named as Mokokchung after the nearest principal village. Since then this Sangtamla Kimong is also called as Mokokchung.

In 1889 Mokokchung was created a Sub-Division and it remained so till 1957 when it was made a District. That time Wokha and Zunheboto were also parts of Mokokchung district as Sub-Divisions. Later in December 1973, these two Sub-Divisions were made districts. However, Mokokchung remains a district but it comprises of only Ao area.

Origin of the word 'Ao'

Every term or name originates with a meaning either through an incident or through a story linked with it. It is interesting to note the origin of the word 'Ao' which is the name of the tribe. This word is ascribed to the present tribe through a particular

incident when they crossed over the Dikhu river (Ao=Tsula). As their story goes, after a long settlement at Chungliyimti the population grew so tremendous that the people had to search for more lands. And so they set off for western side crossing the Dikhu river by constructing a cane bridge. It is told among the Aos by the grand old men that, by the time a great number of people had crossed the bridge they were afraid that there would not be enough land for the entire population. Thinking so they shrewdly cut off the cane bridge and a group of people were left behind unable to follow the earlier group. Those who crossed the Dikhu river were known as 'Aor' or 'Ao' meaning 'going' or 'gone' and those who were left behind came to be known as 'Merir' meaning 'left out' or 'left behind'. Even today the term Merir is used by the Aos to denote Sangtam, Chang, Phom and Konyak tribes. This is how the word Ao (and Merir) originated.

TOPOGRAPHY

Mokokchung district is bounded by the State of Assam on the north, Tuensang District on the east, Zunheboto on the south, and Wokha District and the State of Assam on the west.

Mokokchung is in Nagaland which is in Naga Hills and Naga Hills is a dismembered branch of the Eastern Himalayas. From the eastern side of Himalayas some ranges have risen and gone through Naga Hills, Manipur and Mizoram etc to Bay of Bengal. Mokokchung District being situated in this Hills has got its mountain ranges spread from North-East to South-West, though occasionally some ranges have gone to other directions also.

The District is hilly and there are few plain lands. The hills vary from 1000 to 2000 metres and the average height of the district is 1500 metres. Most of the people live between 1000 to 1500 metres altitude. The ranges are higher on the east than in the west where it has adjoined the plains of Assam.

There are several ranges and they are more or less parallel and have gone from north-east to south-west. Between the ranges there are glens and gorges through which flow the hill streams. There are only two valleys worth mentioning such as Changki and Tuli and both of them are on the western side of the district adjoining the plains of Sibsagar District of Assam. From the plains of Assam the hills

of Mokokchung District look like a silhouette in the rising of sun, and shines in the afternoon.

Mokokchung district is composed of five ranges as detailed below.

Japukong. It is the outermost range stretching from north-east to south-west bordering Assam. The name originated from the fact that a certain man was found drying cooked rice in the sun probably for preparing ricebeer or preserving as food. Japu, in Mongsen dialect means 'drying rice'. Thus the place was named Japu, and the range came to be known as Japukong meaning Japu range (kong=range).

Jangpetkong (Changkikong). A parallel range east of Japukong. Changki village was said to be founded by a certain man named Changki and so the range too was named after him as Changkikong.

Asetkong. A central range running from east to west but compared to other ranges it is the shortest one. This range lies in between Milak and Menung rivers. Therefore this island-like range is known as Asetkong (Asetkong means island).

Langpangkong. An eastern most range skirting along the course of the Dikhu river, the river forming a natural boundary line of Mokokchung with Tuensang and Mon districts. This range is spread like a bed and so the name is given as bed-like range (Langpang=bed, kong=range).

Ongpangkong. It is the southernmost range forming an irregular boundary of Ao area with that of the Lothas and Semas on the south, and with Sangtams on the east. It is known as Ongpangkong as the land is colder than the other ranges (Ongpang means cold place).

RIVER SYSTEM AND WATER RESOURCES

Mokokchung district has very few important rivers though there are many streams. Notable rivers are the following.

Milak. Of the few rivers Milak is the principal one, the longest river that flows across the Ao area. Its source is found in the heart of Mokokchung town itself at an altitude of about 1,300 m, the latitude being 26°-20' N and longitude being 94°-32' E. Among the Aos

through whose land alone it flows, it is known as Milak, the continuity of which in Assam is known as Jhanzi. It flows northward until it leaves the hills and turns westward for the plains above Amguri. In the plains it flows through Sibsagar district. A notable tributary of Milak river is Tsurong. It rises east of Lakhuni village. Then flows between Yachang and Lirmen villages, on one side and Molung village Old and New, on the other.

Dikhu. It rises from the northern flanks near the Nurato mountain in the Sema area. From there the river, Longa or Nanga as called by the Semas and Tsula by the Aos, flows westward and enters Ao area west of Longsa village. Then it flows further northward forming a traditional boundary line between the Ao on one hand and the Sangtam, the Phom and the Konyak on the other. Then it flows northward across the Konyak area. Then it flows past through the hills of Konyak area and finally leaves the hills for the plains near Naginimora. Its total length before merging into the Brahmaputra river is 200 km. Nanung is its main tributary in Langpangkong Range of Mokokchung district.

Tsurang or Disai. It is an important tributary of Doyang river and rises west of Chungliyimsen village. It flows southward, cut through the hills of Ao area and northern part of Lotha area, then all on a sudden it bends westward and thence northward assuming a crescentic bend. It flows further northward until it leaves the hills for the plains west of Changtang village.

Tsumok. It rises from Changtongya area and flows through Asangma and Merangkong villages and then joins Milak river.

Menung The sources of this river is found at Minkong forest. It flows in-between Sungratsu and Longchang villages on one side and Mongsenyimti and Chuchuyimlang villages on the other, and then it joins Milak.

The rivers down the ridges as well as across the softer landscapes, take a roundabout course, and sometimes make abrupt bends. Therefore these rivers are not of much importance for irrigational use as the basins through which they flow are usually narrow and do not support stable or spacious cultivation. However, efforts are being made to utilise the fertile plots of land available off the slopes and near the river beds.

Terrace cultivation and fruit plantations that are noticed on the banks of the river Tsula and Tsurang seem to show quite a promising result.

Lakes and Waterfalls

Very few lakes are found in this district. There are only two important natural lakes. One of them is Omoklushi (also known as Omok Mulu) and is situated at the outskirts of Chuchuyimpang village lying right in front of the Fazl Ali College (a Government College in Mokokchung). This lake is a beauty spot near the town of Mokokchung. During leisure hours many people delight in dallying and strolling around this lake or by watching the fishes. Angling sport is allowed by the owner village once or twice a year for the angling enthusiasts. The other lake is found near Mopongchukit village and is known as Yimyu Awatsung. Both the lakes are about 1,300 m above sea level and have sparse aquatic vegetation.

There is no permanent waterfall in this district but several occur during monsoon and are of not much importance.

GEOLOGY ¹

The Mokokchung district of Nagaland is situated in the north-western part of the State overlooking the vast alluvial plains of Assam. The landform of the district is marked by a series of sub-parallel hill ranges running in a north-east to south-west direction rising one after another towards east with intervening valleys, which at times are fairly wide. The area comprises of Tertiary sequence of which rocks belong to a fairly young mobile belt of the earth.

The rock sequence is represented by the Disang Group of lower and middle Eocene age, the Barail Group of upper Eocene and Oligocene age, the Surma and the Tipam group of Miocene age, and the Namsang beds of Miopliocene age. The successive lithologic units as found in different sections are as follows :-

1. Geology and Minerals etc have been compiled from the notes supplied by Shri R. N. Kacker, Special Officer Directorate of Geology and Mining, Government of Nagaland, Dimapur and Dr. S. N. P. Srivastava, Ph. D., Director of Geological Survey of India, Manipur-Nagaland Circle, Dimapur.

Age	Geosynclinal sediments of Nagaland (and as such of Mokokchung district)	Thickness in metres
Recent & Pleistocene	—Alluvium and high level terraces —unconformity—	—
Pliocene	Dihing Group —Unconformity—	400
Mio-Pleocene	Namsang beds —Unconformity—	800 1800
Miocene	Tipam } Girujan clay Group } Tipam Sandstone Surma Group —Unconformity—	2300 900
Oligocene	Barail } Tikak Parbat Group } Baragolai Naogaon	600 2300 2200
Eocene	Disang Group	3000

The general geological sequence of the area is as follows :

Older Alluvium } Clay, coarse sand, gravel and boulder.
deposit. }

Tipam group — Tipam Sandstone formation—
Girujan clay formation.

Surma group — Surma sandstone formation.

Barail group — Barail sandstone formation.

Disang group — Disang shale formation.

The Disang Group which is the oldest group of rocks consists of a sequence of hard splintery shales of dark grey colour with thin sandstone beds and are exposed in the western part of the district. The rocks of this group are much crumpled. Quartz veining and pyrite dissonations are common. The Naogaon formation at the base of Barail group comprises of mostly well bedded sandstones with shale intercalations. The Baragolai formation includes sandstones and shales with several thin coal seams. The overlying Tikak Parbat formation shows the same lithology but is marked by thick coal seams. The coal bearing Barails occur as sub-parallel thrust slices within the Tipams. The Surma group presents alteration of shales and sandstone occasionally with conglomerates. The Tipam sandstones are characterised by hard ferruginous sandstone with minor shales. They invariably occupy the high

ridges in the district. The Girujan clay formation overlying the Tipams is made up of typical blue and mottled clays and argillaceous sandstone beds. The broad Desai river valley, west of Changki, is occupied by Girujan clays comprised of mottled clays, sandstones, conglomerates, grits etc. The Dihing group resting over the Namsang beds is represented by clays, sands and pebble beds. The Alluvium comprises of clays, coarse sand, and gravels.

The age of the oldest formation i.e Disangs, occurring in Mokokchung district is approximately of 54 million years (?). The major structural units of the area comprise of a number of sub-parallel thrusts arranged in an imbricate manner dipping in a south eastly direction. The parallel traverse faults have affected the entire sequence resulting in a north-westerly shift of the Barail coal measures and the overlying Tipams. Sub-parallel minor reversed faults are also observed parallel to the crest of the hills affecting the Tipam Sandstones.

Mineral Occurrences

Coal is the most important mineral occurrence in the district. Coal seams are mainly present in the basal argillaceous members of the Tikak Parbat formation. The various reported occurrences of coal in the district are as follows.

Chagki-Chunglyimsen Area. In between Changki in the south and Chunglyimsen in the north a number of significant coal seams have been located. Thick coal seams are also exposed north-east of Changki. The top coal seams of this area is 1.5 to 2.2 metre thickness and seems to be important from exploitation point of view. This seam is exposed in a number of nala sections as well as on the hill scarps. Few among these are (1) at 1 km southeast of Merangkong village. (2) In the central portion of Longnak nala at about 1.5 km south of Athuphumi village. This seam is comparatively less tectonically disturbed and shows more than eight kilometres lateral extension. (3) Waromung-Mongchen area : A seam of about 3.5 metre crops out east of Waromung. Below this seam two more seams compound in nature, are exposed near Khari village. Besides these, six coal seams varying in thickness are also exposed on the Mongchen Mangkolemba road section. Coal seams of significant thickness also occur in the Ait nala north west of Waromung village. (4) Lakhuni Mirinokpoh area. A seam of 3.4 metres in thickness exposed 20 metres below the top of Barails north of Mirinokpom, extending

towards south-west for about 1.5 kms with diminishing thickness. Two coal seams of 4.4 metres and 1 metre in thickness respectively are noted to the west of Lakhuni.

Ferrugineous conglomerates and iron laterites at the base of Tipam sandstone formation in the district of Mokokchung are being studied for their suspected association with Zinc, Arsenic and Mercury.

Calc-tufa occurrences at Dibua in the Changki range, north-west of Mokokchung are found to be of minor in nature.

Oil and Gas seepages are found to occur along the foot hills regions of Mokokchung district in Changtongiya area, Waromung area, west of Dibua, N. W. of Abbemi, and Gas seepages N. W. of Longsamtang.

Besides coal, prospects of glass, sands and clays are fairly good in the district. Sandstones suitable for road metals occur in abundance in the district.

In this connection the letter of the General Manager, ONGC, Eastern Region, Nazira, Assam, is reproduced below. Here the survey refers to former Mokokchung district which has now been divided into Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. The survey was conducted in 1973 and the district was divided into three in December that very year.

“This part of Nagaland has been surveyed in detail by Assam Oil Company and they had undertaken drilling in this area on Barsila, Bandersulia, Tiru Hills and Nichugard structures without any success, although in some of the wells, it is reported that they had contained hydrocarbon indication. Subsequently, geological and geophysical surveys have been carried out by ONGC in parts of this district and also in the adjoining terrain. It is revealed that a large thickness of sedimentary rock sequence of Tertiary age is exposed in this area. The boundary between the Naga Hills and Upper Assam plain is marked by a thrust fault—Naga Thrust. The rocks underlying the Naga Thrust are in general undisturbed. On the basis of these survey alongwith the laboratory analysis of rock samples, it was assessed that this part of Nagaland holds good hydrocarbon prospects, particularly within the lower Tertiary sequence. Accordingly in 1973, ONGC

had drilled a well in the Mokokchung District which proved the existence of commercially exploitable hydrocarbon. With this initial success both extensive and intensive exploration plan has been drawn up which it is hoped will locate further hydrocarbon pools within this district. We proposed to drill a few wells in western parts of this district in near future. However, on the basis of present data the eastern and central parts of this district is not assessed of being very prospective”

Besides coal preliminary appraisal of clay, and glass occurrences is also being carried out in the district.

Earthquake

This district lies in a highly seismically active zone, and therefore very often earthquake of different magnitude takes place.

On the 10th January 1869 an earthquake of 7.6 magnitude took place here. On 12th June 1897 an earthquake of 8.5 magnitude took place. In recent decades one took place on 29th July 1947 (magnitude 7.75) and another on 14th August, 1950 (magnitude 8.6). In both the cases the epicentre was far away, in Tibet, and there was no much damage to property.

Though Mokokchung is a separate district now, it was a part of Naga Hills district until December 1957 and therefore the seismicity of previous Naga Hills district applies to the present Mokokchung district also. Hence the note on seismicity of Naga Hills as given below may be taken as the seismicity of the present Mokokchung district.

Notes on seismicity of Naga Hills District¹

“Kohima² district in Nagaland lies in a highly seismically active zone. History of past 100 years reveals that the area has been severely affected by the great Cachar earthquake of 10th January 1869, the great Assam earthquake of 12th June, 1897 and often major earthquake from time to time. During the Cachar earthquake of 1869 considerable damage was caused to property at Silchar. Earth fissures and sand craters were also very abundant. During

1. This note has been supplied by the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi.

2. Here Kohima means Naga Hills district. There was no Kohima district that time.

the Assam earthquake of 1897 earth fissures and land slides occurred in Kohima district¹.

The earthquakes in the region are attributed to the various geological and tectonic features in and around this area such as great Himalayan Boundary faulted zone, Indo-Burma Fault, Shillong-Garo Plateau and various small features in the region.

Taking into account the history of past earthquakes and the above tectonic picture in the area, Kohima district has been placed in zone V in the seismic zoning map of India prepared under the auspices of the I. S. I. In this zone the maximum seismic intensity may exceed IX MM in future. (Specification enclosed). This is a high intensity and would call for provisions which would be prohibitively expensive. Since such high intensities are caused by very strong earthquakes only which occur after long intervals of time and also may not occur always close to the proposed alignment it is considered adequate if provisions for a slightly lower intensity viz about VIII is made.

Studies made in USA and other advanced countries reveal that intensity VIII corresponds to horizontal seismic ground acceleration of 172 cm/sec². The wide range of acceleration figure is due to the fact that structure founded on soft filled up ground experiences much larger acceleration than the structures founded on hard rock.

The choice of the seismic factor depends upon the type of structure, the ground condition and the economic aspects etc. Considering all these points a provision of 15% gravity (.15g) may be considered adequate."

Seismic intensity scale, that is Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale is given in appendix.

Flora

The average altitude of Mokokchung district is 1500 metres. The temperature is low keeping it cool throughout the year and making it rather cold in winter.

1. Kohima district means former Naga Hills district.

At this climate since the evaporation is low, the amount of rainfall, ie, 250 cm, should have been quite sufficient for keeping the vegetation green for ever. But it is not so because of two things. Firstly, because of the hilly condition of the land water does not stand and due to porosity of the earth the retention power is much less. Secondly, the trees and plants can not stand the cold.

As a result, all the undergrowth, grasses and shrubs dry up in winter. By February it looks dry land.

From March onward it becomes green again.

Under this circumstances Mokokchung consists of both deciduous and evergreen forests. Most of the trees are deciduous. They shed the leaves from November onward and grow it again in March. But there are some trees which do not shed all the leaves, but some only, and thus keep green for ever. So we see that it is mixed forest of evergreen and deciduous trees, the later being more in number and area.

In the lower altitude the trees are more evergreen than deciduous.

Thus we can say that the district consists of the following kinds of trees.

(a) Evergreen upto the altitude of 1000 metres.

(b) Mixed deciduous and evergreen from 1000 to 2000 metres.

Various species of trees and plants are found in this district. Some more important and or numerous ones are discussed below.

Important Tree Species¹

- 1) Champa (Michelia : Colour—light olive brown, Polishes champaca) well. Commercial value—commercially used for plywood, cabinet makings and furniture. Utility—house construction, planks, doors and window etc.

1. Names of the Flora and Fauna species have been supplied by Divisional Forest officer, Mokokchung.

- 2) Bonsum (*Phoebe goalparensis*) : Mostly used for building construction and bridges.
- 3) Amari (*Amoora Wallichii*) : Colour—red, hard, close grained. Polishes well. Used for construction, furniture, doors and windows, weaving industry pencil slit etc.
- 4) Sam (*Artocarpus chaplasha*) : Wood is brown, medium hard, polishes well. Used for building construction, carpentry works etc.
- 5) Simul (*Bombax ceiba*) : Wood—white, porous, soft. Commercially used for plywood, match splint and match boxes, packing cases, ceilings, toys plankings.
- 6) Gamari (*Gmelina arborea*) : Wood—greyish white, close and even grained, soft light strong and durable, takes fine glossy polish used for carpentry, boatmaking, posts.
- 7) Am (*Mangifera indica*) : Wood—light grey, coarse grained, used for plywood, packing boxes, match boxes planks, cheap furniture, tea boxes etc. Recent use is making of electric posts.
- 8) Hollock (*Terminalia myriocarpa*) : Wood—brown with dark streaks, polishes well, used for building construction, furniture, door and window planks, railway carriages etc.
- 9) Gogra (*Schima wallichii*) : Wood—reddish brown, fine grained, recently used for plywood. Also used for posts, beams etc.
- 10) Jamuk (*Syzygium cumini*) : Wood—reddish brown or grey, tough and hard, durable under water, used for building, agriculture implements.
- 11) Walnut (*Juglans regia*) : Wood—greyish brown, even grained, polishes well, used for gun boots, ornamental furniture, pencil slit etc.

- 12) Urium (*Bischofia Javanica*) : Wood—red, rough grained, used for all sorts of construction, boat building, railway sleepers etc.
- 13) Begipoma (*Chikrassia tabularis*) : Wood—brown, even grained, hard, used for construction, cheap furniture etc.
- 14) Koroi (*Albizia procerra*) : Wood—dark brown, even grained, takes fairly good polish, used for paper pulp, sugar cane crushers, rice pounders, wheels, agricultural implements, bridges, house posts and electric posts etc.
- 15) Owtenga (*Dillenia indica*) : Wood—reddish brown, fairly durable, used for poles.
- 16) Khokan (*Duabanga Sonneratioles*) : Wood—greyish brown, used for construction and plywood.
- 17) Jia poma (*Lannea coromandelica*. Old name—*Lannea grandis*) : Wood—redish brown, close grained, timber mostly used for ordinary purposes.
- 18) Hilika (*Terminalia citrina*) : Wood—very hard, brownish grey, used for furniture, carts, agricultural implements, house building etc. The wood takes polish well.

Fauna

Major part of the district being covered by forest and jungles it is natural that there will be lots of animal life. In fact it was there—there were plenty of birds and animals and reptiles. But in the wake of modern civilisation which has brought guns to this region after the Second World War, those have been killed indiscriminately (previously also there were guns but those were mostly hand made and muzzle-loading). It may be noted here that the people eat meat of any animal sometimes including snakes. And so the fauna wealth is no more a wealth now but practically some 'museum pieces'. However, still the following birds and animals are found in the jungles of this district.

Common name

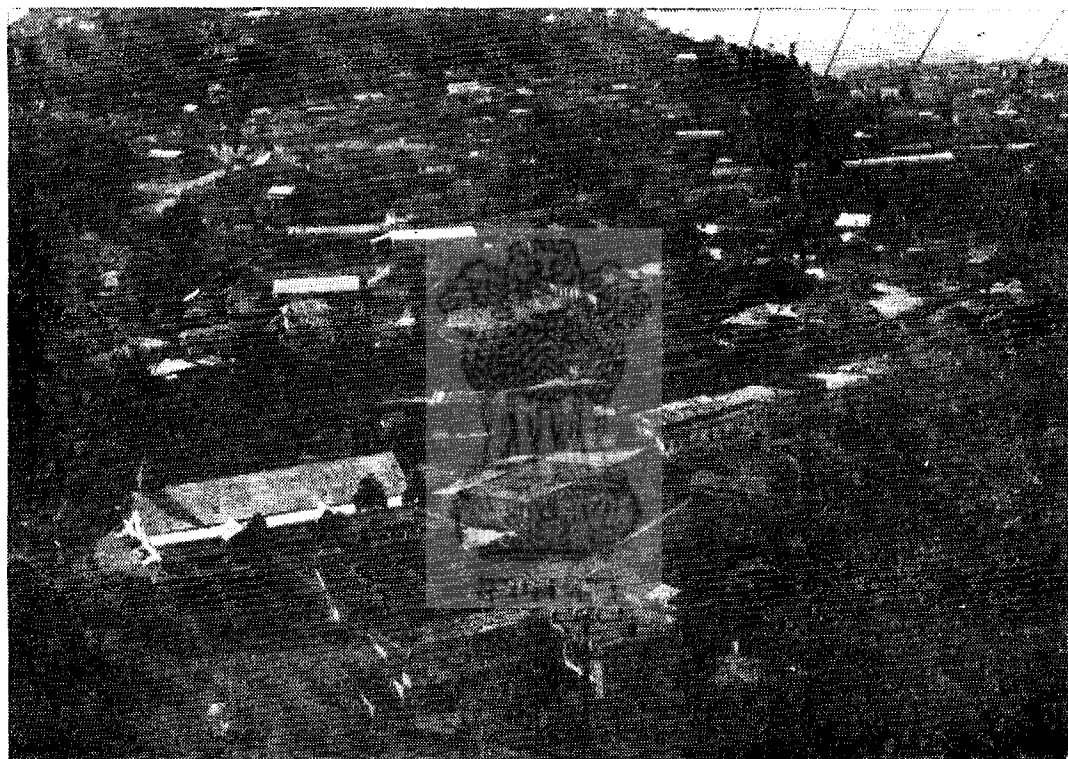
Zoological name

Birds

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. White vulture | Neophon percnopterus |
| 2. Black partridge | Francolinus francolinus |
| 3. Grey partridge | Francolinus pondicerianus |
| 4. Jungle bush guai | Perdicula asiatica |
| 5. Grey jungle fowl | Gallus sonneratii |
| 6. Common peafowl | Pavo cristatus |
| 7. Common green pigeon | Treron phoenicoptera |
| 8. Blue rock pigeon | Columba livia |
| 9. Spotted dove | Streptopelia chinensis |
| 10. Roserignee | Parakeet Psittacula krameri |
| 11. Koel | Endynamys scopopacea |
| 12. Spotted ow'et | Athene brama |
| 13. Great horned owl | Bubo bubo |
| 14. House swift | Apus affinis |
| 15. Hoopæ | Upupa epops |
| 16. Malabar pied hornbil | Anthracoceros Coronatus |
| 17. Mahratta woodpecker | Dendrocopos mahrattensis |
| 18. Common babbler | Turdoides candatus |

Animals जयते

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Wild boar | Sus scrofa Linnæus |
| 2. Barking deer | Mustiacus muntjak (Zimmermann) |
| 3. Himalayan Black Bear | Selenarctos tibetanus (G. Cuvier) |
| 4. Wild Goat | Capra hircus Linnæus |
| 5. Jungle Cat | Felis chaus Guldenstædt |
| 6. Indian Porcupine | Hystrix indica kerr |
| 7. Royal Bengal tiger | Panthera tigris |
| 8. Jackal | Canis aureus linnæus |
| 9. Assamese Macaqu | Macaca assamensis |
| 10. Leopard | Panthera pardus |
| 11. Wolf | Canis lupus |
| 12. Wild dog | Cuen alpinus |
| 13. Pangolin | Manis crassicaudata |
| 14. Python | Reticulate python |
| 15. Land tortoise | Chelone imbricata |
| 16. Stag | Carvus elaphus hanglu wagner |



A view of Mokokchung Town



Bamboo is an indispensable part of village life



A view of Changki village

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 17. Elephant | <i>Elephas maximus</i> Linnæus |
| 18. Other snakes | <i>Lampropeltis, ophiphagus, hannah</i> |

CLIMATE

Mokokchung enjoys monsoon climate with a difference. The difference is this that unlike the adjoining plains of Assam here the winter is cold and summer is mild. In winter the night temperature comes down to 2°C in January and February which are the coldest months. In summer it is not at all hot and rather it is cool in comparison to the adjoining plains of Assam. The temperature does not rise beyond 32°C (90° F) and the average summer temperature is 27°C (80° F).

Rainfall is on the average 2500 mm (100") and it falls for nine months of the year with greatest concentration in July and August.

To go round the year, towards the end of winter season, in February-March the sky is clear almost throughout the day, with occasional cloudiness in the afternoon but clear again at night. This time high wind blows almost throughout the day beginning at about noon and ending at about midnight or early in the morning. Sometimes it blows throughout the day and night. It blows so high that sometimes damage is caused to tin roof buildings, but not to the traditional Naga houses of Tanku leaves (Tanku is a kind of palm tree) and thatch because those are constructed strong and low. The wind generally blows from south-west and at times the velocity rises upto 100 kilometres per hour. Had the wind been accompanied by rainfall it would have been considered storms.

In April the wind dies out. A few drops of rainfall in February, a few showers in March and a little more in April. May witnesses several showers and monsoon sets in from June.

The sky is clear and the day is bright in March, April and May. Temperature also gradually rises with sudden fall during shower. Sometimes hail storms occur in March and April, and during the hail-storms it suddenly becomes cold.

South-west monsoon sets in, in the middle of June and continues upto the middle of September. It brings heavy rain, mostly in shower but there is not a single day without drizzling. Towards the

end of the rainy season of course the rainy-days (2.5 mm) are less in number. Here the rain comes without any warning and so it is difficult to forecast.

During the rainy season the average relative humidity is 80% but at times it goes upto 95% to 100% and as such it is very damp.

According to geographical laws July should have been the hottest month but due to heavy rainfall the temperature is kept down that time, and it starts rising in September when the rain stops. Consequently September is the hottest month of course during hot sun.

October is pleasant but winter sets in from November. November is mild, as cold as the adjoining plains of Assam in January. December is cold and January-February is coldest. Cold wind blows during winter from North-East under the influence of North-East Monsoon. March is also cold.

Sometimes storms occur during the onset of South-West Monsoon in March-April and again during the onset of North-East Monsoon in September-October.

Though it seems unlikely it is a fact that whenever there is depression in Bay of Bengal, Nagaland and so this district gets clouded sky, drizzling and rainfall. The intensity is greater than in Gengetic West Bengal it begins one day earlier and lasts one day later.

As a result of the longer cold season the Government servants get winter allowances for five months of the year, from October to February, for altitudes of 3000 ft or above.

Frost falls only in Longkhum village which is colder than others.

From November to February the mornings are bright but then by 11 am or 12 noon the sky becomes clouded and it becomes cold, and again the night become clear.

The mirth of Spring can be felt to some extent only in April and May.

Thus the analysis of climate reveals that practically two seasons—winter and rainy—dominate the year. Spring and Autumn are nominal and shortlived.

Since the air is thin (because of altitude), the sun is scorching. In the winter, inside the house is cold but outside is too hot to stand in the sun if it is vertical and clear sky. If a pair of trouser is kept outside for drying, the side facing the sun will be dry but the other side which is in shade, will remain as it is.

In the summer, inside the house is pleasant but outside is too hot to stand. This is all because the air is thin.

APPENDIX

MODIFIED MERCALLI INTENSITY SCALE OF 1931¹

Scale	Specification
I	Not felt except by a very few under especially favourable circumstances.
II	Felt only by a few persons at rest, especially on upper floors of buildings. Delicately suspended objects may swing.
III	Felt quite noticeably indoors, especially on upper floors of buildings, but many people do not recognize it as an earthquake. Standing motorcars may rock slightly. Vibrations like passing of lorry. Duration estimated.
IV	During the day felt indoors by many, outdoors by few. At night some awakened. Dishes, windows, doors disturbed. Walls make cracking sound. Sensation like heavy lorry striking building. Standing motor-cars rocked noticeably.
V	Felt by nearly everyone, many awakened. Some dishes, windows, etc broken; a few instances of cracked plaster; unstable objects overturned. Disturbance of trees, poles and other tall objects sometimes noticed. Pendulum clocks may stop.

1. The scale of intensity of earthquake was originally prepared by one Italian seismologist Mercalli by name. It was in ten degrees. But later, in 1931, it was modified and the degrees were raised from ten to twelve, and hence it is called Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale of 1931.

- VI Felt by all; many frightened and run outdoors. Some heavy furniture moved; a few instances of fallen plaster or damaged chimneys. Damage slight.
- VII Everybody runs outdoors. Damage negligible in buildings of good design and construction; slight to moderate in well built ordinary structures; considerable in poorly built or badly designed structures; some chimneys broken. Noticed by persons driving motorcars.
- VIII Damage slight in specially designed structures; considerable in ordinary substantial buildings with partial collapse; great in poorly built structures. Panel walls thrown out of frame structures. Fall of chimneys, factory stacks, columns, monuments, walls. Heavy furniture overturned. Sand and mud ejected in small amounts. Changes in well water. Disturbs persons driving motorcars.
- IX Damage considerable in specially designed structures; well designed frame structures thrown out of plumb; great in substantial buildings, with partial collapse. Buildings shifted off foundations. Ground cracked conspicuously. Underground pipes broken.
- X Some well-built wooden structures destroyed; masonry and frame structures and their foundations destroyed; ground badly cracked. Rails bent. Landslides considerable from river banks and steep slopes. Shifted sand and mud. Water splashed over banks of rivers etc.
- XI Few, if any, masonry structures remain standing. Bridges destroyed. Broad fissures in ground. Underground pipe lines completely out of service. Earth slumps and landslips in soft ground. Rails bent greatly.
- XII Damage total. Waves seen on ground surface. Lines of sight and level distorted. Objects thrown upward in the air.
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CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Introduction

It is about one hundred years that the Mokokchung area has been opened to administration. In 1866 the district of Naga Hills was formed and it was administered from Samaguting (Chumukedima) which lies in the foothills of the district. In the year 1872 Rev E.W. Clark, a Missionary of the American Baptist Mission entered Mokokchung area through Sibsagar district of Assam. After four years, that is in 1876, he camped in Molungyimchen village of the present Mokokchung district which was then known to Assamese as Dekha Haimong. This is how first the Western Missionaries entered this land. In 1876 the headquarters of the Naga Hills district were set up at Wokha and that is the time when the Mokokchung area came under British administration. Thirteen years after this, in 1889, the Government opened an administrative centre (Sub-Division) in Mokokchung. This is the beginning of coming this district under modern administrative system.

Gradually the whole of the present Nagaland excluding the present Tuensang and Mon districts came under the administration of Assam province. It was then called Naga Hills, a district of Assam. And Mokokchung, the present district, was then a Sub-Division only.

For administrative convenience Tuensang division of the then North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was added with the then Naga Hills and it was renamed as Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short. It came into being on 1st December, 1957. From that time the former Mokokchung Sub-Division became one of the three Districts of NHTA.

Later in 1961 the name of NHTA was changed to Nagaland, and Mokokchung continued to remain as a district with Wokha and Zunheboto as two Sub-Divisions.

In December 1973, the district was divided into three districts such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto.

Now let us go back to the early history of this district and the people thereof who are predominantly Aos. Aos are a Naga tribe and they are the major inhabitants of this district. The history of the Nagas as to where from they came, how they came etc are not known by anybody with certainty. No author has been able to give a definite place of their origin, date of their migration, and their way of migration. But Aos have traced their origin upto Chungliymti (Longtorok). It is at this place, they have their origin of history, culture and social setup. Most of the scholars have however agreed that the Nagas in general, and so the Aos also, have come from south-east of their present habitat. It has been mentioned that they have come from different places of Indo-China, that is the land between India and China, and or from South-East Asian islands. It has also been mentioned by many authors that the Nagas in general have got similarities of culture with Filipinos, Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian people. It has been suggested by many¹ that even a few of the Nagas have some Negrito blood as it appears from their woolly hair superimposed on Mongoloid features (We have come across a few).

All the Naga tribes, without any exception, use cowries and some other sea-shells as decorating ornaments. These cultural aspects suggest that some time they were living by the sea.

However, though definite date of their migration is not known, it is known that they had matrimonial relations² with the early Ahom kings of Assam who have come to Assam from Burma in the 13th century A. D.³. This fact suggests that the Nagas, and for that the Aos, have settled in their present habitat at least for the last seven hundred years.

Mokokchung district is mainly inhabited by the Ao Nagas, whose villages, 81 in number, are spread all over the district. These Aos belong to three dialectical groups namely Chungli, Mongsen and Changki with the exception of Merinokpu village which

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1. Hutton J. H., The Angami Nagas, Guha B.S., Racial Elements in the population No 22 in Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, 1944.
 2. Gait E.A., History of Assam, 1933.
 3. Ibid

speaks a peculiar dialect akin to the Phom Nagas of Longleng area. Merinokpu people are said to have been very lately absorbed in this area as the establishment of this village shows. Likewise other people also have settled in this district. For example as late as 1960s some Sema Nagas from the Zunheboto district came and settled in the border areas of Mokokchung district in the west adjoining the plains of Assam. There are altogether 5 Sema villages established in the area, in recent years.

In order to go into the details of the history of this district and about the people it is necessary to try to trace the origin of the two words Naga and Ao.

Origin Of The Name Naga

Nagaland is almost entirely inhabited by Nagas, consisting of 16 tribes, and some Kukis, Kacharis, Garos, Bengalees, Assamese and Nepalese etc in the plains sector. Not only Nagaland but parts of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Cachar Hills of Assam and Burma are also inhabited by different Naga tribes. The Naga tribes although spread over these areas under separate political administrations, are living in a geographically contiguous area.

It is generally agreed that the Nagas, having common ties binding the diverse tribes, have originated from the same racial stock. These people who are divided into well over thirty tribes and sub-tribes have fallen under the common name Naga. But it has been mentioned by many scholars that originally these people did not have this generic term Naga for the whole race¹. It was only after their contact with modern administration that the generic term Naga was given by other people to them. In some tribes they did not have even a common name for themselves but used to be denoted by a specific name for a group of villages². Though this was the condition during the pre-British period they came to be known by the common name Naga gradually. Many tribes came under this term Naga and the process of absorbing more tribes under the name Naga is continuing. But strangely, what baffles everyone is that some tribes come under this generic term Naga while

1. Notes on the Wild Tribe Inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills in our North East Frontier of India, a paper read by Lieutenant Colonel R.G. Woodthorpe R. E., March 8th 1881 in the meeting of the Anthropological Institute.

2. Ibid.

certain tribes ¹ who are living side by side with these tribes (Naga) do not come under this name.

Many scholars, anthropologists, sociologists and travellers have taken pains to trace out the origin and meaning of the word Naga. Hence it is an interesting thing to study the different views expressed by them as to how the name Naga came to be used. According to one of the views expounded and supported by a group of scholars such as S. E. Peal, E. A. Gait and Holcomb, the word Naga is probably derived from the word 'nok' which means 'folks (in some tribal dialects)'. It has also been found that 'Nok' or 'Noka' in Banfera Naga (Konyak tribe) language means 'people'. Therefore, the writers of this view opines that the word Naga is derived from the word Nok or Noka meaning folks or people. Dr. V. Elwin ² too expressed the same opinion in this regard.

Another view suggests that the word Naga originated from the Kachari word 'Nangra' which means 'a young man' and hence 'a warrior'. The meaning of the word is rightly attributed as the Nagas are warlike people.

Some of the scholars believe that the word Naga has evolved from sanskrit word 'nagna' which means naked. It is so because the Nagas are known by the paucity of their clothing. But this view does not seem to be tenable because the people from other parts of India came in contact with the Khasis and Garos (the latter known for their nudity) much earlier than they came in contact with the Nagas of the inaccessible mountain terrain, but they did not give the name Naga to the Garos or Khasis.

Another view, for the same reason of nudity, says that the word has come from the Hindusthani word, Nanga meaning naked. This view is also not tenable because the Hindusthani speaking people have never before come in so close a contact with the Nagas as to give them a name.

The fifth view says that it has originated from Bengali word Nangta meaning naked. It is also not tenable because of the same

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1. The Kukis, the Meities etc belong to Mongolian race but they do not come under the term Naga though they are inhabiting areas adjacent to the Nagas.
 2. Dr. V. Elwin writes, in his book 'Nagaland' (Shillong), p. 4 that the most likely derivation to my mind is that which traces 'Naga' from the word 'nok' or people.

reason with Hindusthani. Moreover, the Bengalees have come in more close a contact with the Garos who are accustomed to a greater degree of nudity than the Nagas, but the Bengalees have not used the word Nangta or Naga to the Garos.¹

A sixth view is the Assamese word 'noga' meaning naked. Often Assamese word 'O' is pronounced as 'A' in Bengali. Therefore, the many Bengalees living in Assam pronounce the Assamese word 'noga' as Naga and thus it has come be used.

Another view obtained from some grand old men is that 'Naga' originated from two Assamese words 'no' shortened form of 'notun' which means new, and 'ga' meaning body, that is, new men.

The eighth view says that throughout India the words 'Naga Sanyasi' are applied to the naked meditants. As the naked Sanyasis are called Naga so also the naked people of this area are called Naga. This is not likely, because the term is not applied to the other nude tribes of India.

The ninth view is that the word Naga has originated from Naga meaning Snake or king of Snakes. The Nagas are described as the direct descendants of the serpent race. Mythologically, princess Ulupi was a Naga Kanya, that is daughter of the King of Snakes. Her residence is generally identified with Hanima in the south-west of Nagaland. Since this area was under the kingdom of Naga-raj, that is, King of Snakes, the people are known as Naga, a derivative of the word Naga. This view, however does not seem to be tenable because Nagas have nothing to do with snakes. Even in their traditional stories they neither worship snakes, like some people in other parts of India, nor keep it as some clans of the Khasis do. In fact, some Nagas partake of snake meat which is a delicacy indeed to them.

The tenth view says that 'Nag' means hill in Sanskrit and the word Naga meaning 'hillman' is derived from it. But this view is also not tenable because other hill people are not called Naga.

It may be mentioned that the Kacharis and the Ahoms

1. W Robinson, A Descriptive Account of Assam, pp 380-98.

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were in contact with the hill people of Nagaland for centuries earlier than the Bengalees or other Hindusthani people were. On the other hand the use of the word 'Naga' dated back to the writings of the Assamese 'Borunjis'—the 'History of the Kings of Assam' beginning from the thirteenth century, long before the Bengalees or Hindusthani people came in contact of the Nagas. Hence it is likely that the word 'Naga' has been given by the Assamese who are close to the Nagas than any other people.

Of all the views propounded by different scholars not one appears to be proved satisfactory because there is no recorded history nor any traditional story to prove it. Further research is necessary to come to a right conclusion to trace the origin and meaning of the word 'Naga'. In this context an unpublished manuscript written by Dalle Namo¹ is worth mentioning. He says that the word Naga has been derived from a Burmese word 'Naka' which means 'earring'. Hence the people who wears earring or pierce their earlobes are known as 'Nakas'. It later on changed into its English phonetic form into Naga. This a very recent view suggested by a local man and uptill now it is neither conjectured nor supported by any scholar. However, there may be some truth in the idea that the people with pierced earlobes are called Nakas by the Burmese. Nagas, men or women, pierce their earlobes and some use decorative ornaments, earrings or flowers on their ear with pride. It is considered as a part of their culture itself. This view opens a new chapter to the scholars to continue research on the origin and meaning of the word 'Naga'.

Origin Of The Word Ao

Ao is a Naga tribe and is one of the most important of the major tribes. According to their traditional story they sprang up from Longtrok which means six stones. Nearby this place they first founded Chungliyimti village where they settled and stayed for a considerable period. In course of time they crossed the Dikhu river by cane bridge leaving other people behind. These people who went ahead leaving others behind came to be known

1. Dalle Namo, an Ao, has helped some writers in writing about Nagaland and he has himself written something on the Nagas but it is not yet published.

as 'Aor' or 'Ao' meaning going or gone.¹

It is a curious thing that the Ao patriarchs do not like to tell anything prior to Longtrok story, and even they despise it if so hinted. Probably their social memory does not go prior to that.

Traditional Story Of Naga Migration

All the authorities agree that the past history of the Nagas, and therefore that of the Aos, is shrouded in obscurity. In absence of any recorded and agreed upon history we are to depend on the traditional stories told by the grand old men of the villages. Though the traditional stories may not be accepted as fool-proof, yet it is worth recording as it may throw some light on important incidents of the Naga history.

A tradition held by some of the major Naga tribes such as Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami and Chakhesang² say that they originated from a cave at Khezakenoma. According to this traditional story, which varies in respect of details to some extent, all these five tribes came out of the cave at Khezakenoma, in the south-east of Nagaland bordering Manipur, and thence migrated in different directions and settled in different places. According to this story the Aos went ahead and were followed by the Lothas and then the Semas. Then the Rengmas, being followed by the Angamis and Chakhesang.

It may be interesting to mention here that the Semas refer to the Aos as Cholim which means Chungliir, the people of Chungliyimti, or gone ahead; while Lothas are referred to as Chuwomi which means 'who preceded'. Angamis are called Tsungumi which means 'left behind'. This Sema nomenclature for other tribes corroborates the order of migration. Again, in the present Lotha area

1. Details are mentioned in the Migration of the Aos across the Dikhu river later in this chapter.
2. Chakhesang are not one tribe but a combination of several tribes and the name has been formed taking first letters of each tribe such as Cha of Chakru, Khe of Kheza and Sang of Sangtam. Formerly this tribe used to be called Eastern Angami. They came to be known as Chakhesang only in 1948.

there are some villages which have got Ao names and it is said by the Aos that they left these villages and moved northward and the Lothas occupied it, whereas the Lothas maintain that they have occupied those villages forcibly from the Aos. Anyway, it goes to prove that the Aos went ahead of the Lothas.

Ao traditional story says that they originated from Longtrok (discussed latter in this chapter) whereas other tribes say that the Aos went ahead of them without any reference to their having emerged from Khezakenoma. This goes to prove that the Aos were the first party to settle in this land whether they emerged from Longtrok or not.

Origin and Migration of the Nagas

Aos are a Naga tribe, and therefore to know about the origin and migration of the Aos it is necessary to know the origin and migration of the Nagas.

Nagaland is inhabited by fourteen major tribes and they speak twice as many languages and dialects as the number of the tribes. They have got differences in physical features, characteristics, dress and various other cultural traits, but inspite of all these differences they have got cultural affinity pointing to a common ancestry which bind them together under the name Naga. The Nagas belong to the Mongoloid stock.

"It is absurd" says Henry Bolfour, "that the Nagas are the members of the Tibeto-Burman family of people, because the tradition of the Nagas points south-eastwards through which their ancestors travelled" The Oxford Encyclopaedia also says that "They (Naga) are for the most part Mongolian both in physical type and language, and in customs they are in someways, like the hillmen and islanders of South-East Asia," Their oral traditional stories which are surviving to this day also amply prove their migration to the present habitat from the east, though in different times through different routes. Therefore, they are not autochthonous people.

Some scholars identified them with the Kiratas, who were described in some old Sanskrit literature and in the Mahabharata, as hillmen living in the Eastern Himalayas having some similar characteristics with the Nagas. Mention may be made of Dr. Suniti

Kumar Chattarjee who has also taken pains and inferred them (Nagas) to be the Kiratas. Howsoever, careful study of history proves that it is not likely to identify the Nagas with the Kiratas of Sanskrit literature. Dr Hutton¹ has stated that the place now occupied by the Nagas was formerly, either wholly or partly, occupied by the people of Mon-Khmer affinities.

Ptolemy, the Greek historian of the 2nd century described this region as the "realm of the naked." However, that does not mean that those autochthonous or aboriginal inhabitants are the ancestors of the present Nagas. Because Dr Hutton has found that some people having a little different culture and physical type of the Konyaks had been preceded by people of Negrito or Papuan affinities. He has further stated that bands of Negrito hunters were once wandering here, and their traces are still found here and there. Another writer, Miss Bower² says of a legend surviving among the Kuki tribe in the south, that a very dwarfish and bitterly irreconcilable people were living in the land when their (Kuki) ancestors invaded it. The survivors of these people were hunted down and driven into caves where they were finally destroyed by fire.

All the scholars agree that the Nagas have come to their present habitat from out side from the east. But it is not definitely known wherefrom they originated, how and when they migrated. That is why there have been many conjectures and most of the the scholars have pointed to the South-East Asian countries as their place of dispersion. Lotha traditions say that they came from far off place which they still nostalgically remember as Monsuraj. Whatever might have been the route of their migration, and whichever might be their original home, Nagas appear closely akin to the primitive communities of Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, Taiwan and the Philippine Islands. Dr Smith³ a Christian Missionary and a Sociologist, has taken great pains to enumerate some thirteen characteristics of the Nagas which are common with Indonesians, that is the people of Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia. Some

1. Dr. Hutton J. H., *Mixed Culture of Naga Tribes* reprinted from the *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, p. 19.
2. Miss Ursula Graham Bower 'Naga Path'.
3. Dr.W. C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, 1925.

important ones of these are Head-hunting, Common sleeping houses for unmarried men, Disposal of dead on raised platforms, Trial marriage or great sexual freedom before marriage, Aversion to milk, Tatooing by pricking, Hilly residence etc. This goes to prove that one time or other the Nagas were closely connected with the tribes of South-East Asia, particularly with the Dyaks of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra, Igorots, Ifugaos and others of Phillippines, and some tribes of Formosa.

All the Naga people are fond of marine shells. Cowries and Conch-shells are used by them as decorations without which their costume is not complete. It is a strange thing that though they are living far away from sea and are cut off from it by any means of communication, yet they have got a special attraction for these marine articles. This fact goes to prove that once they were living by the sea. Butler has reported¹ that in 1874 he has been told by some Rengma People at Tesophenyu that they "ruled the coast for ages." The famous Xylophone or log drums which are hewn out of huge log resembles a canoe. This also suggests that the ancestors of the Nagas were once islanders using canoe. We have also been told by an elderly Lotha that their ancestors have come from Monsuraj, a far off place, and during their sojourn they have been on the coast for sometime.

All these are going to prove that the ancestors of the Nagas have come from the east one time or other and have got strong cultural affinities with the tribes of South-East Asia and the Oceania. All the authorities also agree in this regard.

It has been suggested by many that whatever may be the original home, they have entered India through Burma. Most likely they were divided into several groups and entered their present habitat in waves and not all at a time. Some have come through the north-east of Patkoi hills and others through south-east, via Manipur.

It appears that the southern Naga tribes such as Angami, Rengma, Lotha, Sema, Zeliang and Mao etc came from the South-East through Manipur, and the Semas entered their present habitat after crossing the Barail range which was also crossed by the Angamis. More interesting

1. Kohima District Gazetteers, 1971.

is the Lotha story of migration. We have been told by some elderly Lotha men that the ancestors of the Lothas came from Monsuraj, a far off country in the north. Taking a southerly direction by a roundabout route they reached Burmah. They crossed 'Limhamyumu' in their language, meaning 'red-earth', thence crossed a river and entered Manipur. From there they proceeded northward settling temporarily in many places and then finally settled permanently in the neighbourhood of Longsa and Wokha villages. The Angamis have a tradition that their ancestors and the Karens, known to them as Karennoma, belong to the same family. They, however, split into two groups, the Angamis turned westward to the present habitat whereas the Karens turned to the east.

Migration of the Aos

There is no historical record to trace the route of Ao migration. Ao traditional stories also do not go beyond Longtrok. Aos settled in Chungliymti. In that place, the Aos, as the story goes, stayed for a considerable period of time. Perhaps they enjoyed a very peaceful life after a tiresome wandering. The Aos often remember the life in Chungliymti which may be described as the 'golden age' of Ao people. It was here that the Aos attained a 'renaissance' in their sociocultural heritage and polity. From Chungliymti the Aos migrated towards west and so, after crossing the Dikhu river they settled in the small valley of Aunglenden and founded Soyim village there which is now known as Ungma. Due to some accidental death of a person the village was abandoned and it was shifted to Koridang wherefrom many villages of Ongpangkong Range were founded. the Aos then spread all over the five ranges of the present Mokokchung district and founded as many as 81 Ao villages, as at present¹. The advent of the Aos to the present territory indicates that they have displaced some early Konyak inhabitants known as Isangyonger, Nokranger etc. There are a number of sites still bearing testimony of these people. It has been mentioned that some of these people have been absorbed in the Ao community.

It is beyond doubt that the Aos had preceded the Lothas

1. District Census Handbook, Mokokchung District Census, 1971.

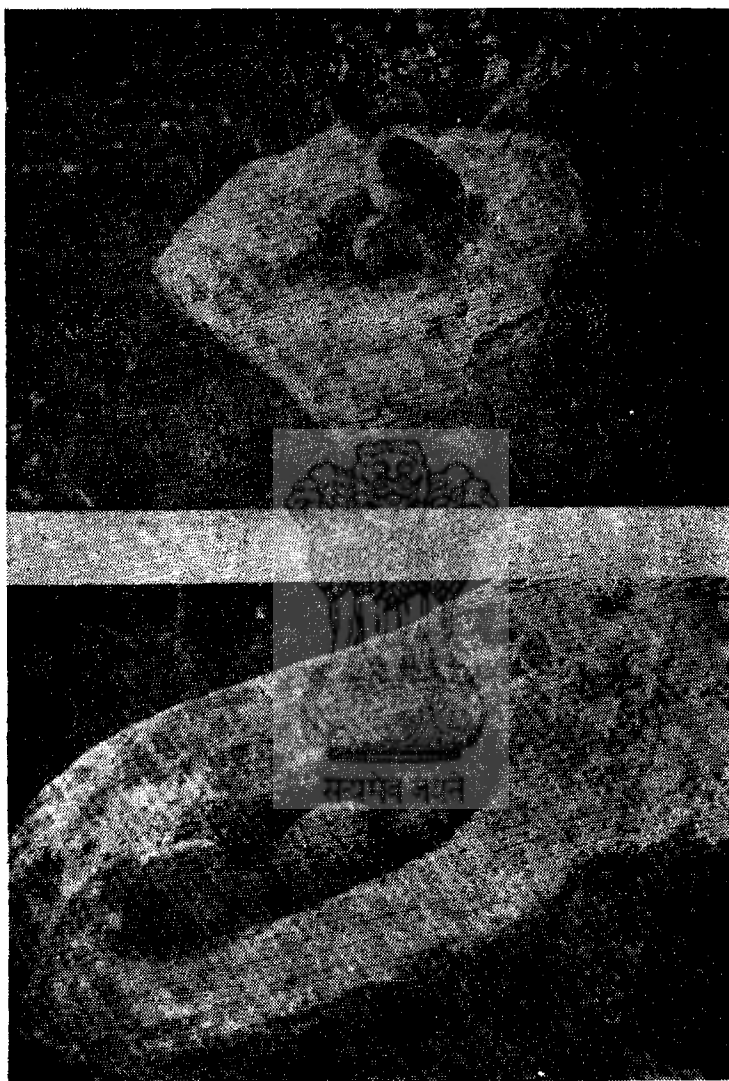
and Semas in their immigration to Nagaland. Places now occupied by the Semas and Lothas have Ao names which are said to have been once inhabited by the Aos. There is a version which tells of a batch of Aos who moved southward towards the present Sema and Lotha area from Koridang in search of better land. They settled in those areas for sometime but finding no suitable land they retreated towards the north and joined the mainstream of the Aos.

Traditional Story of Longtrok

The place known as Longtrok, which means six stones, is situated just at the outskirt of Chungliymti village on the eastern side of Ao area beyond the Dikhu river. It is about 20 km from Mokokchung town. At present Chungliymti is occupied by the Santam Nagas of Tuensang district. But in the past Chungliymti had been the abode of the Aos. Just near Chungliymti one finds Longtrok where lies a big stone, said to be the 'female stone' surrounded by six smaller stones. One of the 'male stones' that lies in front of the female stone had been knocked down by a Christian Missionary many years ago. Ao story goes that they have emerged from the place of those stones.

Aos had a tradition that they descended from six progenitors who came off the six stones at Longtrok. Of the six persons three were male members and the other three were females belonging to three different clans, one male and one female from each clan. They were Tongpok and Longkakupokla of Pongener clan, Longpok and Yongmenyala of Longkumer clan, and Longjakrep and Elangshi of Jamir clan. All the latter names that is ending in 'la' are females. Inter-marriage started among them as Tongpok married Elangshi, Longpok married Longkakupokla and Longjakrep married Yongmenyala by which marriage three main Ao clans originated. Later on as their population grew in great number many more clans came into being as sub-clans from those three main clans.

Ancient stories do not go further beyond Longtrok. But still some of the grand old men have in their mind faint memories and nostalgic feelings about their land and brethren in the East. They say that Aos migrated to Nagaland from somewhere in the east in search for fertile lands. It may be mentioned that the patriarchs are reluctant to tell anything beyond the story of Longtrok, but somehow they have been persuaded to tell whatever have come



Longtorok (Six Stones) at Chungliyimti. Aos believe that they have emerged from that group of stones. Above is the male stone and below is the female stone.



A typical Ao house



Ao girls in traditional dress

down to them from their ancestors.

They had a peculiar way of finding out the fertility of land. They used to dig a hole in the ground and then fill it up with the same earth. If the dugout earth can not completely fill up the hole it is considered not fertile, but if it can fill the hole it is considered fertile, and if there is remainder it is more fertile. The more remainder, the more fertile. The criterion employed is scientifically true.

Lack of written language and any historical records was the greatest factor that hampered the progress and civilization of the Aos. They learned everything orally from one another. This process continued from generation to generation—from father to son, son to grandson and so on. And so naturally the story of their migration, customs and traditions have changed considerably and many more have either been forgotten or neglected as generations pass by without written record.

The Aos appear to have wandered and settled in several places while in search of a suitable and fertile land till they reached the present habitat.

The Story Of First Ao Settlement

The story of Chungliyimti or the first Ao settlement at Chungliyimti village is of great importance and significance to the Ao people. It marks the beginning of a new era in the civilization of the Aos. Because it was here that the Aos attained a remarkable achievement as an organised society or a tribe with proper village government, distribution of powers, a set of customary law to abide by, and consciousness of moral and ethical aspects of mankind.

Chungliyimti was the first village after their (Aos) so-called emergence from the stones of Longtrok. It is said that the first settlers of Chungliyimti were three persons named Tongpok of Pongener clan, Lungpok of Longkumer clan and Longjakrep of Jamir clan. They are known as the founders of the village.

For sometime, people lived and prospered in peace and unity as if they were members of the same family. They spoke

only one language, had the same customs and manners, had no difference and restriction in their diet and no sub-clans existed as yet. But eventually as time went on they multiplied in great numbers and things did not remain static. This growing population posed a serious problem leading to a considerable change in their established society.

At first there was only one Arju (Morung) known as 'Sentenrujo'. Later on population increased and along with it came the demand for more Arjus. Thus four more arjus were erected which were known as (a) Tzubong rujo (b) Longdang rujo (c) Penyu rujo, and (d) Lemtu rujo. In addition to these changes many new clans came into being that originated from the parent clans.

Gradually various changes took place. They realised the necessity of formulating rules and laws to be strictly adhered to, for safeguarding their rights, security and peaceful existence. It was at Chungliymti that the Aos started to worship different natural spirits and deities, improved upon the system of marriage, founded the 'feast of merit', specified costumes to be worn by different clans, started the system of tatooing and imposed taboos on certain diets, occasions and circumstances. In like manner they laid down customary codes and manners to be strictly observed. And all these things brought a tremendous overall change in the life of the Aos.

In course of time, due to the growth of population, increase of power and need of expanding the land, they occasionally came in conflict with an enemy people known as 'Oronggers'. These people can not be identified now, but the story simply refers to them as Oronggers. At that time Chungliymti consisted of only two sectors known as Yimpang and Yimlang that is, Upper and Lower.

There are many stories and events told by the Aos during their historic settlement at Chungliymti. It was there that the Aos first started the 'feast of merit' which was being offered only by rich man to the inhabitants of the whole village by killing mithuns, pigs etc. Longjakrep and his wife Yongmenala by name, were said to be the first persons to have offered the

feast while they were in a well off position and able to feed the whole village.

Over population compelled the people to venture for new places. Thus two new villages were founded. The first group led by Sungronjung by name, settled in a place known as Kupoklongbang. This group consists of mixed clans. But they came to be known as 'Mongsener' because they marched the whole day in a procession, as the Ao term Mongsen stands for. During the good days when Chungliyiimti flourished under towering personality of Shiluti by name the people of Kupoklongbang entered into enmity with the former. Ultimately a fierce fighting took place, in which the people of Kupoklongbang were defeated and they suffered heavy loss of lives. Survivors were some how rehabilitated at Chungliyiimti which was previously divided only into Upper and Lower sectors but was later divided into two different language speaking groups such as Chungli and Mongsen.

One group, after leaving Chungliyiimti settled in a place called Tzutsung Yongbang or Tsatayong bang. These people were known as Molunger. They were said to have left the village willingly and so they were named 'Molunger', because in Chungli language Molunger means 'Willing'. Places previously inhabited by these people are still bearing names like Molungkong ridge which is located between Khensa and Mopongchukit villages and an old Molunger village called Noksenkini situated close to Longchang village. A group of these people after long wandering permanently settled in a place and named it Molungyim which is now known as Molungyimchen (Molung=molung people, yimchen=old village). The descendants of Molunger are represented by Sanglichar clan who are found in Molungyimchen and few other villages.

Migration Of The Aos Across The Dikhu

Eversince the Aos settled at Chungliyiimti the growth of population created a problem of land shortage for cultivation. In addition to this the same serene and peaceful atmosphere could not be maintained because with increase of population instability in the administrative or social activity was inevitable. Moreover, after perpetrating heavy bloodshed on a certain clan, known as

Tzutir who were also living in the same village, the people of Chungliyiimti felt very sorry. They became restless and could not stay peacefully in the same village. Tzutir clan, as the story is told, grew very big and powerful by efficacy of certain leaves which reduced their death rate. This secret was not known to other clans and as Tzutir clan expanded, other clans grew jealous of them and were afraid that they might be dominated some day by the Tzutir. So they carefully planned and massacred all the male members of Tzutir clan. Having committed such an atrocious act, as nothing could be so shocking and unfortunate than killing their own brethren, they were very sad. Though they were used to killing enemies it was a genna (taboo) to kill one's own man. So they were in mental torment. While living in this mental condition, one day, a certain man named Yimtatsung went out for hunting to the jungle beyond the Dikhu river which had not been crossed by the people of Chungliyiimti till that day. He proceeded to a place as far as Aunglenden, near Ungma village. This was situated in such a way that it could be an ideal place suitable for a big village of the size of Chungliyiimti. This man in order to locate the place, cut off a throng of cane grove, then went back home to Chungliyiimti. He then informed the villagers of the new place he had found suitable for human habitation.

The next day, villagers, being informed of the good news, convened a meeting of the village to go from their present abode to the newly found place and so they abandoned Chungliyiimti and a great wave of migration thereby took place for leaving Chungliyiimti. They then crossed the Dikhu river, on the west of Chungliyiimti, by means of a cane bridge (as already mentioned in connection with the origin of the word 'Ao'). The group consists of a great multitude, as such, they were afraid that there would not be enough land for all the people in the new place they were about to settle. Therefore, they felt it wise to leave some people behind and consequently cut off the cane bridge, and thereby left out some people. From that very day those who could cross over the bridge were known as 'Aor' or 'Ao' meaning going or gone, and those who were left behind were known as 'Merir' meaning 'left out' or 'left behind'. It is said that majority of the people crossed over the Dikhu river leaving a few behind.

The Aos then settled in Soyim which is known as Ungma

today. The founders of the village belong to different clans who went there as representatives, namely Yimsapang, Murungpang, Murungmuka Lungkong, Yimtatsung, Rusang, Tsubusang and Watikucha of Pongener clan; Mangru, Benbudong, Mangkadong, Moyusabong, Limtuba and Lungchaba of Longkumer clan; and Salong, Anungdangsang, Mosem, Yongsen, Mechapirong, Senkalong and Jongpong-lemba of Jamir clan.

Just a short span of time after their settlement, a certain Unger (Councillor or Chief), Ngarensang by name, of Soyim village, was either lost or killed. Thus Soyim was later known as Ungma meaning 'loss of an Unger'. This unfortunate and sudden death or loss of a leader in an unnatural manner made the people very uncomfortable to stay any longer at Soyim. In those days people were very superstitious. Therefore, it was their fear that the loss of an Unger was a bad premonition. Thus, after the death of their Unger they shifted from Soyim to another place which is known as Koridang or Koredang. From Koridang, groups of people scattered to different directions. The earliest villages founded are Ungma, Kabza, Longkhum, Sutsu etc. Gradually, as population grew, they eventually spread over five ranges of the land and founded as many as fifty villages.

A curious matter of interest about these people, as for that case, all the Nagas and their tribal brothers, is their traditional memory. They can accurately trace back the lineage of grand parents, and can tell their parent village from where they migrated or founded another village, though living apart in different villages for long period. One wonders as to how people tell events or stories of the past so accurately when they were even devoid of civilization or written records, since they had no script of their own.

It may be mentioned here that the traditional story says that they had a script written on the skin of an animal but unfortunately a dog had eaten it. And since then they have lost the script.

Ahom Ao Relation

Probably at the time of the conquest of Brahmaputra valley

by the Ahoms in the 13th century the Aos were permanently settled in Naga Hills and their habitat comprised of the area lying between Dikhu river on the east and Doyang on the west. According to the grand old men of the tribe, the Aos originated from the Longtrok or six stones at Chungliyimti, the first village of the Aos, earlier than the Ahoms came to the Brahmaputra valley.

There are several traditional stories current among the Aos as to how they came in contact with Ahoms. One tradition says that the people in the Brahmaputra valley found pieces of wood or bamboo being chopped off by dao, as well as some broken jars at the mouth of the river Dikhu. Thereupon, they followed upstream to trace the people living in the unknown hills and at last they came in contact with a certain man named Sorak, who is said to have possessed magical power. This was the first meeting of the people of Brahmaputra valley with the Aos, and it happened when the Aos were residing at Chungliyimti. Another tradition tells of two Aos, who while fishing in the river were caught by the elephant hunters and were produced before the king in the plains. The king was impressed by the simplicity of the new people and therefore offered friendship. They were also told to pay a visit at the king's palace every year during harvest season in full ceremonial dress. The Aos thence paid visits quite often and the king used to offer them rich presents and the Aos in return were obliged to allow the king to hunt elephants in their area. There is yet another story. It had happened during the Aos' settlement at Koridang. A dispute arose over the question of seniority between Pongener and Longkumer clans and it could not be settled by the Aos themselves. Therefore, the case was taken to Ahom prince who was regarded as a dispenser of justice and the judgement went in favour of the Pongener clan to be the senior of the two disputing clans.

The above stories are among the earliest ones about how the contact between the Ahoms and Aos began.

We do not know with certainty the year or century when the Ahoms and Aos came in contact. But it can be safely mentioned that when the Ahoms invaded Upper Assam in the

13th century, the Naga tribes, and so Aos, were already settled in their present habitat, for during their invasion the Ahoms came across the Nocte and Wanchos of NEFA¹, and Konyaks of the present Nagaland. Soon after their settlement in Assam the Ahoms came in contact with Ao and Lotha Nagas also. The Ao Nagas are inhabiting areas adjoining the Sibsagar district of Assam. So their contact with the Ahoms was inevitable. Trade intercourse started between them earlier than social and political ones began. Brisk trade flourished between them, though it was on barter system since there was no medium of exchange those days. The Aos took cotton, ginger, chilly, betel leaves, pumpkin, pulses, vegetables etc to the plains and their main purchases in the plains were cattle, buffaloes, iron and agricultural implements, dried fish, salt etc. An important trade route was the Naga Ali, which was constructed during the reign of Ahom king Suklenmong² and it runs from Bar Ali to Naga Hills.

The Ahom-Ao relation was both friendly and hostile. Peaceful relation sometimes got strained when some quarrels led to sporadic clashes mainly due to lack of lingua-franca or in many cases due to frequent raids in the plains by certain Ao villages. However, there is no recorded history of any major clash between the Aos and Ahoms. This goes to prove that the Ao-Ahom relationship was friendly and amicable. The Aos were given freedom to move around the Ahom territory and they often paid visits to the plains as the highways were opened to them.

The Ao-Ahom relationship was generally amicable. But in the event of any dispute or incident, regular conference used to be held between the Ahom rulers and the Ao Elders³. The Ahoms maintained friendly relationship with Aos for certain reasons which are worth mentioning. It was no doubt a part of the Ahoms Eastern Frontier policy to keep the hill tribes appeased, particularly those who inhabited the low hills near the plains and thereby to prevent them from their frequent raids. But there are some other reasons for which the Ahoms could not be but in-

1. M. Alemchiba, *Historical Account of Nagaland*, p. 29

2. E.A. Giat, *History of Assam*, p. 101.

3. Alemchiba M., *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, p. 39

debted and remain grateful to their Ao Naga brethern, and so also with some other Naga tribes. Recorded history says that Naga Hills was the shelter for the Ahoms in times of internal fued or external aggression or during natural calamities like famine, flood etc¹.

During the Ahom-Kachari contest over supremacy in Assam, Ahom princes and officers are said to have approached the Nagas including the Aos and recruited them into the Ahom regiments. It was very unfortunate that most of the Ahom rulers were haunted by rivalries both from within and without. They often took refuge in the Naga Hills. It is told by the Ao villagers that when the Koches invaded the Ahom Capital in 1563² many Ahoms took refuge in the Naga Hills and saved themselves from the enemy. Mention may be also made of prince Godapani who wandered in Naga Hills while hiding himself from the hunt of Laluk Buraphukan, a claimant to the Ahom throne. Nagas sympathised with prince Godapani and he was given shelter and offered every assistance. He stayed for sometime in a few Ao villages namely Imchenkimong, Merangkong etc wherefrom he proceeded to the Phom and Konyak area and there he married a Konyak girl named Watlang, the daughter of Thaiwang. Later on Godapani ascended the Ahom throne in 1681 and assumed the Ahom name Supatpha and also the Hindu name Godadhar Singha. As a token of gratitude for the unstinted support and assistance rendered by the Nagas including the Aos, the king not only offered valuable presents but also granted arable plots of land called Khels and fishing rights over the waters known as Bheels on the understanding that they would desist from making any predatory raids into the plains. These lands were called Naga-khats and were managed by the Assamese agents known as Naga-Kotokis. Their duty was to communicate between the Ahom and the Nagas.

The Aos on reaching the Ahom territory had to deposit their spears and daos with the Kotokis and reclaim them on the their way back home. This practice prevailed as a symbol of peace in those days.

The Ahoms did not show any intention of extending their domain in the Ao area, or for that matter the Naga hills, except

1. Gait E.A., History of Assam, p. 124, 156 etc.

2. Ibid.

taking punitive measures as a retaliation to check occasional raids perpetrated by the latter. Despite occasional incursions of the Aos, an intimate relationship was maintained between them. Periodical meetings between the Ahoms and Aos were held and they pledged to uphold and continue cordial relations.

The Aos derived considerable benefit from their good relations with the Ahoms because by honouring it they enjoyed the privilege of the ownership of the 'Duars' (gates) through which they used to go down to the plains. The Aos had much respect for the good relation because violation of it entailed complete blockade of the 'Duars' and thus prevent the Aos to go down to the plains, unless and until fine for its violation was duly paid.

The Duars, held by the Ao Nagas (according to the report of the Government in 1873), each being held jointly by a group of villages, with the number of Kotokis, as mentioned by Tajen ¹ are given here undert.

Names of Duars	Names of villages	Number of Kotokis
1. Dupdur Duar	Molowtopia, Longjang, Orbong, Boraymohng, Dekaymoong, Selajoo, Borolange, Soosoo, Bhugalage, Longtang, Akhoea, Changtongia, Luraong, Eang, Nowgaon.	7
2. Assyringia Duar	Assyringia, Lachow, Kamponggee, Soolootia, Nowgaon, Booragaon, Mosag and Kari.	3
3. Hatiguria Duar	Japhu, Mookhee, Bordoobe, Allepa, Soroallepa, Kapza, Manmeton, Longkam, Onma, Khencha, Chemchea, and Mikolai.	2

1. Tajen, 'In Memory of our Ancestors who Redeem us For today' p.p. 99-100

Man (Burmese) Invasion

During the Burmese (Burmese are known to Ahoms as Man) invasion of Assam the Ao Nagas, true to their tradition, stood solidly by the side of the Ahoms. People still remember the reign of terror let loose in Assam by the combined forces of the Burmese and the Shingphos, which sided with them. Their ravages, plunderings and wanton killing of the Ahoms were beyond human tolerance, and so the people rushed in panic towards the hills for their lives. Ao villages were alarmed and alerted to fight the common foe, while batches of warriors were sent to the plains to assist the Ahoms in taking shelter in the Ao area. It is said that the warriors from Anokpu and Lirmen villages had skirmishes with the Singpho marauders in the plains. Thousands of Ahoms escaped from the clutches of Burmese atrocities and swarmed round the Ao villages in the lower ranges. For safety and shelter they moved further eastward as far as Ungma and Longkhum villages where they were welcomed and treated as friends by giving them every assistance and by granting land etc.

According to the Ao traditions the Assiringia Nagas (Merinokpu village) on seeing the gross atrocities committed by the Burmese made trips to the plains to rescue their unfortunate Ahom brethren. Thus in their first trip they are said to have rescued sixty families who were provided a place known as Karlong for their temporary settlement. In their second trip another eighty families headed by a certain Ahom leader named Tellai were rescued and were granted the plain land around the foothills of the Assiring Naga valley. Therefore the valley was named after the headman (Tellai) as Tellai valley. The Ahom fugitives were given rice and other foods-stuffs donated by Ao villages. But afterwards they cultivated the lands themselves provided to them by the Aos. The settlers then offered cows, buffaloes, paddy and fowls to their host villages as token of their gratitude. After concluding peace treaty with the Burmese¹ the Ahom fugitives went back to their homeland escorted by armed Ao Naga warriors. The Ao Naga warriors of Longkhum village played a great role in escorting the Ahom settlers to their homeland. Some Ahom settlers who refused to go back to their homeland were permitted to settle in their favourite village and were provided land for cul-

1. Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826.

tivation. The Ahoms long remembered the hospitality and assistance rendered to them by the Ao Nagas. Rich Presents were sent every year to the host villages as a symbol of their gratitude.

Traces of Ahom settlement are still found in various parts of Ao area such as 'Ahomlar Imkong (Ahom habitat) and Gabori Tsupu (Gabori pool or well) near Merangkong, terrace cultivation and wells dug by the Ahoms in Ungma land or traces of canals, wells, layers of broken brick houses, daos, axes, knives, necklaces etc found in many places.

Ahoms were not orthodox and so intermarriage of Ahoms with other people did not affect the privileges and status of the ruling race. So we come across a few Ao women named Changtongyala, Sentichila and Ajungla who were married to Ahom princes and nobles.

The Aos never refused their help and assistance or shelter whenever their Ahom brethren were in distress. Natural calamities and famine¹ as well as wars and revolutions had been witnessed by the Ahoms, which culminated in terrible destruction and wanton atrocities. In all these times the Aos maintained good neighbourliness through their material and moral support.

BEGINNING OF ADMINISTRATION

In 1866 the district of Naga Hills was formed with Samaguting (Chumukedima) as its headquarters. Wokha Sub-Division was formed in 1876 and some Ao areas were also incorporated in this Sub-Division. That was beginning of modern history of this district. In 1878 the District headquarters were transferred to Kohima, the present capital of the State of Nagaland. Then in 1889, the Sub-Divisional headquarters were shifted from Wokha to Mokokchung.

One of the earliest notable events in Ao area after coming under British administration was the Konyak invasion of Merangkong village. The Konyaks in order to avenge the murder of an inhabitant

1. There were several famines in Assam in the years 1569, 1641 and 1665. Another famine in 1789 was caused due to Moameria rebellion. There were also heavy floods in the year 1570 and 1642 as recorded in the history of Assam by Gait, E. A.

of Tamlu, came with the Phoms; and the strength of a combined villages killed many inhabitants of Merangkong. It was on that occasion that Longchanglepzuk, one of the first Ao Naga Christian, died when he went out to meet the invaders for peaceful settlement.

On December 1, 1883, two men of Molungyimchen (Deka Haimong) were murdered on their return from trading in the plains by men of Selachu (Sungratsu) who had an old feud with Molung people. The murderers were enjoined by the Inchenkimong (Bora Haimong) people as both were apathetic to the Christians of Molug who later founded Molungyimsen village. The chiefs of the two villages refused to attend a summon but afterwards finally submitted and were fined Rs. 150/- by the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills.

In 1884, the Lotha chief of Lakhuti village reported to the Government the murder of his nephew Tingpamo in the Ao area by the village of Mungatung (Mangmetong). The Government summoned the village elders who admitted that the murder was committed, but objected to surrendering the culprit. Thereupon a punitive expedition under McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, and Brodrick, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Wokha, with 100 sepoy marched to Mangmetong and punished them by burning the village. The villagers then produced Tochang, the accused murderer, but his statement did not corroborate with that of the Lakhuti elders. Tochang admitted that he and Yemtang during their journey met Seretung and Tingpamo of Lakhuti village. But not long before they had gone, the two Lothas fell upon them leading to a fight and an instantaneous death of Tingpamo and Yemtang. The two survivors, Seretung Lotha and Tochang Ao, in panic made a scurry apart of the others. After confirmation of the statement the Lakhuti people were penalised with a fine of Rs. 500/- and Seretung the main offender was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Okotso village, another Lotha village near Mangmetong, which gave false statement was also fined Rs. 100/- and Tanjamo from the same village was sentenced to six months imprisonment for the guilt of having cut off the head of dead Tochang. Thus the expedition was concluded.

The early part of British administration in Naga Hills and Sibsagar district was frequently disturbed not only by raids in the plains by the Nagas but also fighting in between different tribes or even among different villages of the same tribe. There were some

villages which sought the protection of the Government to save themselves from such fighting and raids. So, in order to give protection to such villages and to strengthen the border areas and extend their rule over the unadministered areas, the British Government took several excursions to the hills. In 1885 W. C. Clark, the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar district which borders the Naga Hills, undertook a tour of the foothills of Ao area. At the same times, McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills also led an expedition into the interior. It was decided that the two Deputy Commissioners, on completion of their tours, would meet at the Ao village of Imchenkimong. The main objective for the tours was to—

- 1) punish the Sama village Litami for murder of a British subject,
- 2) establish regular contact with Aos who seemed to be more on the side of administration than not and needed protection, as well as to assess a definite measure of protection to be extended to them, and
- 3) determine a point on the Dibua-Waromong range of Ao area which should be the limit of the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, towards Sibsagar district.

When McCabe returned to Longkhum village after an expedition it was reported that the Longsa people raided Boradubia (Changki) and carried off the heads of two men and two women. McCabe at once proceeded to Longsa to punish the murderers. However, when they reached the village gate, Longsa people showed peaceful ovation by standing at the gate unarmed. The village then yielded a fine of some cows, mithuns, daos and spears.

In 1885 one of the significant events was the feud between Merangkong and Molungyimchen villages. It was a renewal of an old feud of 1883 which was ended in compromise through the arbitration of Rev E. W. Clark, an American missionary and Kutula Babu, an Assamese evangelist. The compromise worked for a year. But hostility renewed when Molungyimchen people violated it by killing two persons of Merangkong during a journey. Waromong also allied with Molungyimchen against Merangkong which led to the raid of Waromong by Merangkong. On return journey the

Merangkong people were ambushed by the Molungyimchen people thereby killing five of them. This led to counter-attack by the Merangkong people who took vengeance by attacking the village at night, killing five persons and wounding many, and finally burning the village. They further ambushed on the way and attacked the traders of Molungyimchen killing one of them. These events led to sending of a punitive expedition to Merangkong under Grear. On arrival the villagers were driven out of their homes and the deserted village was set to fire and the crops were sacked. At last Merangkong complied with Government's demand and surrendered seven men responsible for murder as well as attacks on Molungyimchen.

In the early part of the year 1888, the Konyaks and the Phoms perpetrated a raid to the Ao villages of Unger and Akhoia where many people were killed and wounded. Muspratt and Macintyre went and punished Tamlu and Kangtsung villages responsible for the raid, exacting fines from them.

In July, 1888, one of the cruellest events in the recorded history of this area took place. It was a case of a raid conducted by the combined villages of Trans-Dikhu area who massacred 173 people in Mongsenyimti and 44 people in Longkong village. The villages which took part in the offence were Noksen, Litam, Sontak, Lungra, Yarr, Champiyatong, Lakstang, Langtam and Mazungjami. On hearing the dreadful incident, Porteus, the officiating Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District proceeded in December the same year (1888), with 130 rifles from the Lakhimpur Battalion under Lieutenant R. H. Maxwell. Davis, Assistant Commissioner and Muspratt, Sub-Divisional Officer, Wokha, also accompanied the expedition. The expedition carried through their mission by dividing their force into two detachments.

All the villages concerned in that raid were visited by the expedition. Some villages did not offer resistance but simply fled away to the jungle and they themselves set fire to their houses also, while some villages like Sontak offered strong resistance but later retreated finding their formidable enemy armed with guns. All the villages were punished for their raid on the two Ao villages by burning their villages, granaries etc. The villages thus humbled, the expedition was concluded.

In 1889, the area was permanently incorporated in the Naga Hills District with a Sub-Divisional Officer at Mokokchung, which was made its headquarters. S. Walker was the first Sub-Divisional Officer of Mokokchung. During its inception Mokokchung Sub-Division consisted of 47 Ao villages, 4 Lotha (newly consolidated), 3 Sema and one Konyak villages.

In 1892 Longsa, the only Ao village across the Dikhu river was lastly merged into the administration.

In November 1903, two Ao traders of Sungrats village returning from Noksen were killed by the inhabitants of Pelasi Khel of Mozungjami village. Therefore, a punitive expedition was sent in 1905 under Captain Thompson with one hundred rifles of the Naga Hills Military Police. The then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District, W.J. Reid and the Sub-Divisional Officer Williamson also accompanied the expedition. On reaching the village, the Pelasi Khel was set to fire, grains were sacked and domestic animals were also wantonly killed as penalty for their offence.

After 1905 there was practically no headhunting or raids into the Ao area, and things were peaceful. During the first Great War (1914-18) the Aos helped the British Government in its war efforts and even some 200 Aos joined the labour corps and went to France,

During the Second World War (1939-45) the Aos, like all other Naga tribes remained loyal, and helped the British Indian Government against the Japanese to their defeat. Many Aos served as soldiers (in the Assam Regiment), guides, interpreters and porters etc during the Great War (Second World War).

In 1948 a separate administrative circle of Tuensang was constituted as an outpost of Mokokchung Sub-Division. Later in 1951 Tuensang became a District. The same year it was merged with North East Frontier Agency (NFEA) as one of its divisions.

Tuensang which had formed part and parcel of the Naga Hills District with its historical and cultural identity since the inception of Mokokchung Sub-Division in 1889 could not remain isolated for long. Therefore, in 1957, Tuensang was again merged into

the Naga Hills Tuensang area (NHTA) as one of the districts. Mokokchung and Kohima were the other two districts. Later the NHTA become Nagaland in 1961 and in December 1, 1963, Nagaland was formally inaugurated as a State and the three districts remained the same. But in December, 1973, the three Sub-Divisions of Mokokchung were turned into three districts. Thus Zunheboto and Wokha became districts, and Mokokchung also continued to be a district.





An Ao woman in traditional dress



An Ao couple in ceremonial dress

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

According to 1971 census the district of Mokokchung is inhabited by 82,852 people. Of this total, 72,771, are Nagas and 10,081 are non-Nagas. Of the Nagas, Aos are 61,802 excluding Mokokchung town, for which break-up is not yet available. There are some people of other tribes such as Changs, Semas, Lothas, Angamis, Sangtams etc. Besides the Nagas, there are some Nepalis who have settled permanently in different parts of this district.

There are altogether 86 villages in the district and one town that is, Mokokchung town. Of the 86 villages, 81 are inhabited by the Aos and 5 are inhabited by Semas. It may be mentioned that the Sema villages of this district are in the border area between Assam and Nagaland.

The Non-Nagas are residents because most of them have come on service or business and have no permanency. Therefore for the purpose of analysis of population and culture and other things of the people, the non-Nagas may be kept aside. And since Aos constitute the overwhelming majority of the people and more so of the native people, it is a district of the Aos and so the gazetteer of Mokokchung district will be practically a gazetteer of the Aos.

Features

The Aos, like all other Nagas, have Mongoloid features such as yellowish complexion, not sharp nose, slightly deep epicanthic fold, and slightly brachycephalic head. People are generally with wavy hair but there are a few people with straight or even wooly hair also.

The people are well-built and muscular in form. Due to cold climate, plain food habit, plenty of exercise and rest, and less worries, the people are generally healthy.

On the average an Ao man is 5'-5'' or 163 cm tall and an Ao woman is little less than that, that is on the average 5'2'' or 155 cm. Though all the Nagas have mongoloid bias of features, there are differences in minute details between one and another tribe. The differences are so explicit that an accustomed eye can very easily distinguish one person of one tribe from that of another. It may be mentioned here that there are some fourteen major tribes in Nagaland, such as Ao, Angami, Lotha, Sema, Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Chakhesang, Zeliangroung, Rengama, Phom, Yimchunger, Khiemungan and Kuki (Kukis are of course not Nagas but a separate scheduled tribe mainly living in Manipur). There is such a thing in each of these tribes that a person of one tribe can very easily be distinguished from that of another, not by dress but by physical features.

Population.

Details of population of the present Mokokchung district is not yet available. However, on the basis of the figures of 1971 census it is calculated that the total population of the present Mokokchung district is 82,852. Of this total, 72,771 are tribal, that is Nagas, and the rest, that is 10,081 are non-Nagas. Most of the Nagas are Aos, and their number is 61,802, excluding Mokokchung town for which no breakup is yet available. Thus total rural Ao population comes to 61,802.

Sex Ratio


Of the total population of 82,852 of the district, 45,160 are male and 37,692 are female. This gives a sex ratio of 830 female per thousand male. Of the total tribal population of 72,771, the number of male is 36,381 and that of the female is 36,390. This gives a sex ratio of the tribals as 1000.2 female per thousand male. Total Ao population of the district is not yet known, but the total Ao population of the District excluding Mokokchung town is 61,802. Of this total, 30,430 are male and 31,372 are female. This gives a sex ratio of 1038 female per thousand male. In paper it does not look so much problematic, but in actual life it is so. It is said that there are, in some villages, two to three girls per boy. This being the position of sex ratio, the female outnumbering the

male greatly, it is natural that some Ao girls can not marry easily. Because of this situation many Ao girls marry outside their community or cannot marry at all. And probably for the same reason Ao girls are more friendly.

The total population of Mokokchung Town is 17,423 of which 12,298 are male and 5,125 are female. This gives a sex ratio of 417 female per thousand male. This very low sex ratio is due to the fact that there are many working people who are either unmarried or are staying there without family.

TABLE OF POPULATION OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT.

(On the basis of 1971 census)



1. Total	82,852
2. Total male	45,160
3. Total female	37,692
4. Overall sex ratio	830 female per thousand male.
5. Total tribal	72,771
6. Tribal male	36,381
7. Tribal female	37,390
8. Tribal sex ratio	1,030 female per thousand male.
9. Total Aos excluding Mokokchung town, ie, rural	61,802
10. Rural Ao male	30,430
11. Rural Ao female	31,372
12. Rural Ao sex ratio	1,038 female per thousand male.
13. Total population of Mokokchung town	17,423 and it is included in total of the district.

14. Male population of Mokokchung town	12,298
15. Female population of Mokokchung town	5,125
16. Sex ratio of Mokokchung town	417 female per thousand male.
17. Total working population	28,195
18. Total female working population	13,773
19. Total male working population	14,622
20. Total non-working population	37,233
21. Total female non-working population	18,790
22. Total male non-working population	18,443
23. Overall percentage of literacy of the district	49.56
24. Overall percentage of rural literacy	48.94
25. Percentage of rural male literacy	55.32
26. Percentage of rural female literacy	44.68
27. Percentage of literacy of Mokokchung town	62.10
28. Percentage of male literacy of Mokokchung town	65.15
Percentage of female literacy of Mokokchung town	54.77
30. Total number of villages in the district	86
31. Total number of houses in the district (including Mokokchung town)	12,942

Growth of Population

The population of former Mokokchung district according to 1971 Census was 1,68,242 and according to 1961 census it was 1,26,001. This gives a rise of 42,241 people in ten years, and percentage variation of 33.50. The details of present Mokokchung district are not yet available but condition having been same between the former and present district, we can say that more or less the same rate applies to the present Mokokchung district.

It is a good rate of growth and much higher than all-India level which is 24.80. Out of the total growth of 24,241 people in the former Mokokchung district, a substantial number has come from outside the State of Nagaland on service and business. And therefore the actual rate of growth will be some what less than 33 50 percent, and probably around 30.

Rural and Urban population

According to 1971 census the total population of former Mokokchung district is 1,68,242 of which 1,50,810 live in villages. It places rural population at 89 percent. Details of present Mokokchung district are not yet available, but the condition having been almost same all over the former district, the percentage of rural population of present Mokokchung district will be almost same. So for all practical purposes the percentage of rural population of the present Mokokchung district may be accepted as 89. Thus we see that the overwhelming majority of the people live in villages and they are mostly cultivators. Again since many people have come from outside the State on service and business, the above figure for rural population does not hold good for the local people. According to the Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1973, of the Government of Nagaland, the Scheduled Tribe population of the former Mokokchung district was 1,53,601. Rural population being only the locals, it remains the same, ie, 1,50,819. Be it so, the percentage of rural population of the Scheduled Tribes will be around 98. That means only 2 out of hundred people live in town, and there is only one town in the district, namely Mokokchung having a population of 17,423. Almost the same statistics hold good in respect of the present Mokokchung district also.

Language

Every Naga tribe has its own separate language and so do the Aos. There are some people of other tribes in this district and they also have separate languages. Apart from that, there are many working people from all over the State and all over India and they all do have their own languages. And therefore the number of languages are many. But languages of the floating people may be excluded for the correct study of the language of the local people, that is the Aos.

Like all other Naga tribes, the Aos also do have several languages among themselves and more dialects. Though within the same tribe, sometimes the languages differ so widely that they cannot understand each other. Apart from variation in dialects there are three main languages among the Aos. Those are Chungli, Mongsen and Changki. There is one more language namely Merinokpu and it is spoken only by Merinokpu village. It is quite different from the other three Ao languages. Of the three main Ao languages, Changki is spoken by only one village, that is, Changki, and the official language of the Aos is Chungli in which there are text books also for lower classes. Not only that, but also the Gauhati University and later the Board of Secondary Education, Assam, accepted it as the Mother Tongue of the Aos. It is now accepted as the language of the Aos by the Nagaland Board of Secondary Education also.

It may be noted here that all these languages belong to Tibeto-Burman group.

RELIGION AND CASTE

Generally in a primitive or a small society caste system is not found. Caste is a product, as in the case of Hindus, of elaborate social organisation based on graded work from lowest to highest. Where the society is small or closed one or where it is not complex, casteism generally does not grow. Therefore, among the Nagas there is no caste system, and so also, as the Aos are Nagas, it is not found among the Aos. Or in other words, we can say there is no caste system in Mokokchung district. But at the same time we should mention that the people who have come from outside have come with their caste divisions. Since there is no caste system, the people are homogenous but with many clans. Of course clans are not castes and they intermarry, rather it is forbidden to marry in the same clan. So caste system is not there and there is no evil of caste system.

Religion

Before the introduction of modern administration and Christianity to this area the people were animist. They used to offer gifts and sacrifices to the spirits of the jungle, both benevolent and malevolent. All the evils, both social and personal, including disease and illness, were ascribed to evil spirits; and to propitiate the evil spirits they used to offer chicken, bird, or even pigs, and of course

other food stuff. The practice was similar to many other primitive tribes of South East Asia. Then came Christianity which made many converts. Though at present almost cent percent Aos are Christian, it is necessary to speak a few words of the old religion.

Aos have different names for their deities to whom they offer sacrifices. They believe in a supreme being known as Lijaba. This deity is not remote, as on occasions he pays visit to this earthly abode of human beings to reward and retribute people according to their deeds. Mills,¹ however, maintained that the religion of the Aos is not a moral code.

Priesthood

Priesthood is a respectable status in the society. There is a distinction among priests, sacrificers, sooth-sayers, diviners, medicine men etc in the society. A priest is known as 'Puti unger'. He wields spiritual influence. There is a junior priest to assist him. Priests are chosen from among those who have a good moral standing in society. A junior priest known as Putibangmi succeeds to the office of Puti-unger in the event of the death of the chief priest. The investiture is governed by a colourful ceremony.

The priest performs important ceremonies and offer prayers during founding of village, sowing of seeds, harvesting and holding other festivals. Thus he attains a highly respected position among the people. He is maintained by seasonal gifts from the people during the religious ceremonies. Priest are attended to by other assistants to circulate summons and make public announcement as the officials of the Governmen do. The assistants are assigned duties such as carrying of rice-beer, spear etc. and serving as the priest's messenger as well.

Divination

People from time immemorial hold that their dreams are portentous enough; they believe that dreams have meaning and significance, and thus have foreboding and forecast. The priest, besides coping with the performance of sacrificial rites both household and village, and besides being the custodian and inter-

1. Mills J. P., The Ao Nagas.

preter of religious beliefs, has also other duties. He is also a foreteller of the secrets which are made known to him by the deities. The priest generally undergoes necessary physical and mental discipline. Falling into trance a priest can conjure up some acquaintance with the spirit, and a message from his lips is considered to be divine. Thus he is endowed with the esoteric knowledge of many things as well as with the power to probe into the recondite mysteries. This subscribes to the theory of gods and goddesses not being removed from the affairs of men.

Though some trivial variations are observed, the devices for divination and methods are similar among all the Naga tribes. By divination they seek to know the will of the deities; by divination they seek to assess whether an undertaking such as hunting or fishing is worth-while. In the past days they sought to know through this device whether any warfare or head-hunting was to be successful or not. They also try to know why ravages such as epidemics or any natural calamity visit their abode. Moreover, they try to ascertain the reason of anybody's illness by divination.

Religious practice of Aos like other Nagas, appears to rest mainly on a system of giving appeasement in a systematic manner to their deities. Their pantheon known as Tsungrem¹ is constituted of the following:

- 1) Lijaba—Potentate of terrestrial sphere, who is also the creator of heaven and earth.
- 2) Mojing—Deity of world hereafter.
- 3) Lungkitsungba—Dispenser of justice, and is said to be standing right at the gate of the world-hereafter.
Curiously this deity in Ao conception has his presence symbolised in any rocky eminence².

1. Tsungrem is a consolidated form of several deities pertaining to household, jungle, mountain, aerial etc.

2. The tradition seems to suggest a parallel with an Israelite conception of God's presence at a rock of Bethel, after Jacob's dream of a ladder connecting heaven and earth.

The system of worship is two-fold : household and the village as a whole. In both the cases, during sacrifice, bits of meat, grains of rice, eggs and specially prepared rice-beer are offered to the deity. Incantations are also made. The worship is made so that the deity blesses the household or the village as the case may be to increase their wealth and give them prosperity. Benevolent spirit is invoked to drive away the evil spirits. At the village sacrifice when Lijaba is propitiated, they build an altar in which they offer him sixty leaves together with other food-stuff. This practice bears resemblance to the Semas, when during bridge construction the whole Sema village seeks to propitiate the spirit with sixty pieces of meat including liver of chicken wrapped in leaves with rice-beer poured into wooden vessels.

They have several means to consult omens. A chicken killed by strangling or slaying is said to furnish the means of an oracle; diviners having their own way of reading the omens from the portion of the entrails. Another way to know the omen is from the position of the legs of the fowl. They read the omen further from the falling of the skins or pieces of ginger when cut off from the hand. Egg breaking is said to furnish another means of divination, the omen being indicated from the falling off of the shells. Another means of divination is fire-thong. A fire is lit and is made to burst out at once. It is said to be the most effective one, the answer being rendered by the nature of its bursting.

Christianity

Regarding introduction of Christianity we quote below a few pages from A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF NAGALAND by Alemchiba Ao published by the Naga Institute of Culture, Government of Nagaland.

Quotation begins: "Christianity—A New Era.

With the advent of the British the task of humanising the tribals became mainly the work of the Christian Missionaries. David Scott, the first Commissioner of Assam, arranged to bring a number of English Missionaries to work amongst the Garos. He opined that, 'rude tribes were more likely to profit by the teachings of the gospels'.

Major Jenkins, a subsequent Commissioner of Assam, also held the view that, the tribes on the Assam frontier should be brought within the scope of missionary activities as early as possible as the influence of persons skilled in the language of these, and devoting all their time and attention to humanize these rude races could not fail of being useful to us and to them. It was through Jenkin's attempt that Rev. Nathan Brown of the American Baptist Mission arrived in Sadiya in 1836 to take up missionary work in Assam.

In 1836, Rev. & Mrs. Nathan and Rev. & Mrs. O. T. Cutter came up to Sadiya. They were the first American Missionaries ever to come to Assam. Within a short period of their arrival Khamtis invaded Sadiya. A good number of British soldiers including some Officers were killed in that raid, but fortunately the lives of those Missionaries were saved. Ever since this disaster, the Britishers left Sadiya and they established a new headquarter at Jaipur and along with them the Missionaries also came and established a Mission headquarter side by side at Jaipur.

While staying at Jaipur those Missionaries had made up their mind to serve the Nagas and decided to send Rev & Mrs Brown to Naga Hills in order to construct a house for the opening of a school. In January, 1839, Rev Mile Brownson visited Namsang (Namsang is now a village in the Tirap Frontier Division). In 1840, with his family he proceeded to Namsang and began to serve in the Mission field. They stayed there for about six months but had to leave Namsang as a result of violent pangs of miseries and woes in their family.

William Robinson, writing in 1841, "hoped that by the blessing of Divine Providence through the efforts of these excellent men, the Nagas, who from time immemorial have been the scorn and prey of their more civilized neighbours, may shortly begin to emerge from the dark barbarism which now renders the tribe of each hill an enemy to that of the next, and has hitherto prevented an Alpine tract of great natural resources and high fertility, from supporting more than a very scanty population of savages in a state of discomfort and privation.

Only in 1851, the Nagas from the villages of Longjang and Merangkong were baptised by Rev S. W. Whiting and soon they became the members of the Church in Sibsagar of Assam.

In 1869, Rev E. W. Clark came to Sibsagar to be the Missionary of Assam. In 1871, Clark wrote that in order to deliver the message of God to the Nagas at least in a place, a work would begin. In the same year he saw some Naga traders going to and coming from Rongpur. One day a person named Subongmeren along with some others from Dekahaimong (Molungyimchen) were seen in Rongpur and roaming around the house of the Missionary and near the school building. On inquiry Clark was informed that they came down in quest of trade. Since that day Clark at once determined to go Naga Hills with the message of God.

In October, 1871, Clark sent Godhula to Dekahaimong in order to preach the message of God. In April 1872, Godhula and his wife Lucy were sent to Dekahamong to stay there for some time. On 8th November, 1872, Godhula took with him 9 (nine) persons down to the Dikhu river where on the 11th of November, 1872, Clark baptised them and they became the members of the Church in Sibsagar.

On 18th December, 1872 Dr E. W. Clark made his first appearance in the hills of the Naga head-hunters. He came from Sibsagar and arrived at Molungyimchen village to explore the possibility of his staying there. Earlier on 9th November, the same year, 9 Ao Nagas were baptised at Sibsagar and their names were registered there, since there was no church in Naga Hills then. On 23rd December, 1872, 15 persons were baptised in Molung village. This was the first foundation of a Church in the soil of Naga Hills.

A year later, the Christian group was separated from the non-Christian population of Molungyimchen and a new christian village known by the name Molungyimsen was founded three miles to the north of the old village, and it became the centre of the christian Mission activities for the time being. Dr Clark, a highly educated man, walked up the jungle paths of the Hills with firm conviction

and determination. In those days head-hunting was esteemed by the Nagas as an act of glory. Villages at long distances, separated by thick forests were pinned on tops of the hills for better security against enemy attacks. One can easily imagine how the first white man must have suffered, carrying his bundle of clothes on his back as he travelled from place to place, depending on the rough hospitality of the ancient jungle dwellers. Such is indeed the lot and life of the explorers and discoverers who try to the rugged heights so that may contribute some new ideas to the world of humanity.

IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY

The primary object of the Missionary was of course to spread the teaching of the Christian religion among the Naga people, but along with it he had the strong idea of bringing the same people to the enlightenment of knowledge through education. With this aim in view he imparted education to as many boys and girls as were available to him and when he thought that they were fairly prepared to teach others, he sent them out to village to teach other boys and girls.

The Nagas had no written literature of their own. Tradition says that the Nagas at one time had their own written literature recorded on some animal skin. Through the careless use of the scroll by a scribe the skin was devoured by a dog. So Nagas lost their literature. A tradition may serve its own purpose in some way, but the fact about the Nagas so far as authentic history goes that they had no written literature. The first Missionary who came from a country which used the English alphabet took recourse to the use of card-board paper cutting for the twenty six alphabets. A Naga girl was trained in the art of using these paper cuttings and within a period of time she could use them with sagacity. The Missionary somehow managed to get a small printing machine from a Mission Station, Sibsagar, in the plains of Assam. The first Naga Primer was printed in this machine. The Naga girl who had by then learnt the art of reading was used as a teacher. With the assistance of this girl the Missionary and his wife gathered around them a few boys and girls as pupils and in the process of time these pupils learnt the three R's. Subsequently some Bible stories were written in the

Ao Naga language and a couple of the Gospels of the New Testament were also translated. The boys and girls who had received the first education were sent out to the neighbouring villages as teachers, and the Missionary made frequent itinerary visits to those villages. This explains the initial stage of education among the Nagas.

It was about nine years after his arrival that the British people appeared on the scene as rulers. But although law and order were in their hands, the problems of education were left to the discretion of the first missionary and his other brother Missionaries who had arrived as auxiliary force from America to assist him.

The first missionary confined his activities in Ao area which now forms part of Mokokchudg District. A Mission centre was opened at Impur on 4th October, 1894, and the Mission activities by then shifted from Molungyimsen to Impur. By this time a number of Churches were established in the Ao villages and there were many new converts. Impur for many years was the Christian station not only for the Ao Churches but for the churches of the Semas, Lothas, Changs, Phoms and Sangtams.

The hard-working pioneer Missionary left the Naga people after a strenuous labour of about 36 years. He left behind him an Ao English Dictionary. At his departure he could see a number of primary school in the villages. His wife who was also an educationist had written a few books in the Ao language for use in the school.

In the meantime, another Missionary was active in the Southern part of the Naga Hills. Rev C. D. King came as a first Missionary from Samuguding in 1885 to Kohima to work among the Angami Nagas, but accomplished very little owing, to the disturbances which raged the country. It was Rev Dr Rivenburg, his worthy successor who had made versatile accomplishments in medical, literary and education, came to Kohima in 1885, and took charge of the Mission work in the Angami area. the Angamis are indebted for their education to this talented educationist who spared no pains to open the way for education

and enlightenment. He followed the example of this pioneer Missionary in the Ao area in adopting the English alphabet in writing the Angami language. He worked among the Angamis for about 30 years.

W.E. Witter another Missionary was deputed to Lotha area, who first came to Wokha in 1885 but circumstances in that area did not allow him to carry out any successful scheme. He opened the first Lotha school and wrote the first Lotha Primer.

As the Missionaries were carrying out their educational programme at its full swing the British Government in the meantime, came to see the necessity of starting their own schools, partly for purpose of offering secular education to children, and mainly for drawing men from them for employment in their various departments. But the immediate problem was how to man the staff. With the consent and advice of the missionaries the boys who had studied in Mission schools were absorbed as pandits in the Govt. Lower primary schools which were started in the Govt. Headquarters and in a few bigger villages. But such Govt. schools were negligibly few in number compared with the fast growing number of mission schools." Quotation ends.

It is one hundred years that Christianity has been introduced in this area and this is the area where Christianity has been first introduced in Nagaland, rather the then Naga Hills. In this hundred years Christianity has been accepted by majority of the Aos and it has exerted a tremendous influence on them. Many of them have given up drinking ricebeer and have accepted education as a must. As a result of these two factors the Aos have become educationally far advanced than other tribes of Nagaland and they have developed in all respects. It may not be out of place to mention that from one particular village, Changki (population 2,279 according to 1971 census) there are at present (March 1978) more than one hundred gazetted Government servants serving in different places.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Birth

When a baby is born a Genna¹ is observed for five days for a girl and six days for a boy. During this five or six days the leaf of a lemon like tree is kept in front of the house to announce the birth of a baby and during this days no outsider is allowed to come to the house.

On the third day of the birth, irrespective of the sex of the new born, both the ears of the baby are pierced. This is done so that when grown up he or she can use flower or any other thing as ornament in the ears. This piercing of the ears is done by the senior-most member of the family, generally a male member. This piercing is done after a small ceremony in which a big cock is killed and feasted upon with prayer, and the prayer is done by the members of the family for well-being and long life of the baby. It is not a worship or exactly a prayer but expression of desire or wish.

In the third month, head of the baby is shaved, dress is given and bead necklace is put round the neck irrespective of the sex of the baby. It may be noted here that both men and women use bead necklaces, of course with more and beautiful ones being used by women. Upto this time, that is, before giving dress to the baby, the mother could not take part in any social function. With dress and necklace the baby is ushered into the society.

The system described above pertains to the non-christians only and that also not with so much strictness nowadays, but with the christians there is no such rules of rituals. Their outlook is pragmatic and modern. So, for all practical purposes the old rituals have vanished or are vanishing very rapidly.

Mortuary

The old mortuary system has been a thing of the past. Before the advent of Christianity and administration to this area, the people used to keep the dead body exposed on a platform in the premises of the house for several months—two to three—and thereafter used to throw the remains in the specified place in the jungle.

1. Genna means prayer, worship, taboo, *a-sauch* etc.

But that system has long gone. Nowadays they, irrespective of religion, bury the dead and feast before the burial.

Of course Christians do pray for the eternal peace of the departed soul, and church bell tolls for the departed soul. In the church a funeral service is conducted. Then a quiet funeral procession is led to the cemetery. There people take to singing and the pastor reads scripture and a prayer is offered for the departed soul after which the dead body which is already put in a coffin is placed in the grave. It may be mentioned that the Christians nowadays plant a cross over the grave in place of skulls of games displayed in the past. Stone tablet is also planted to perpetuate the cherished memory of the deceased ones. People who can afford, build masonry to keep safe the memorial over the grave. Death anniversary is also performed, if not by feasting, at least by keeping a wreath of flowers over the grave. They have regards for their dead ones and maintain the graveyards properly.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

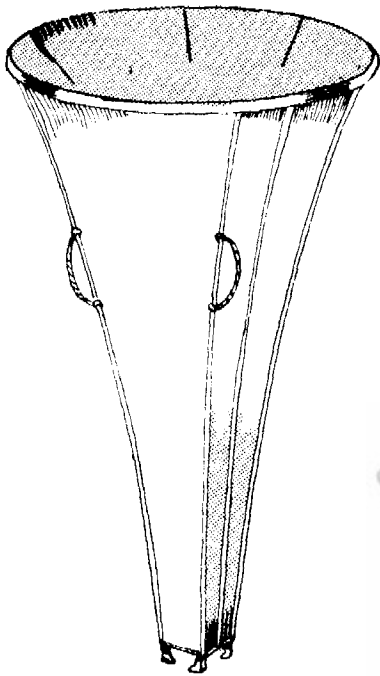
Marriage

Marriage used to be negotiated with a greater latitude for the person concerned to select his or her life-partner. Nowadays it is more of courtship than of negotiation.

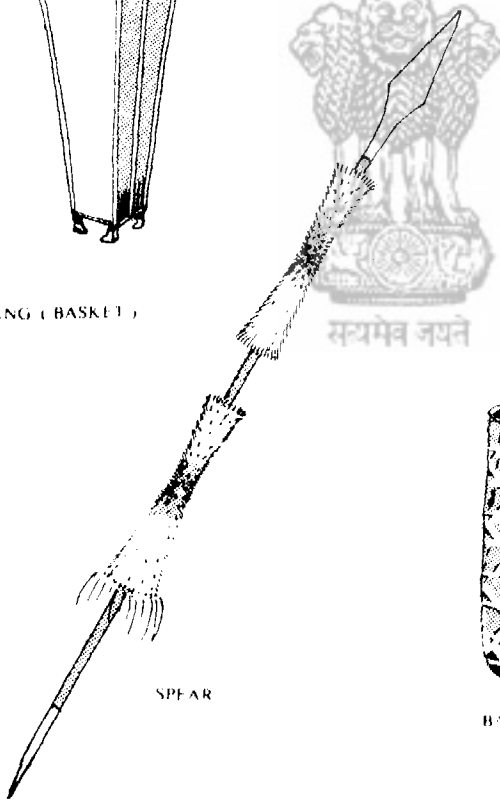
In some Ao villages in olden days there was the system of marriage price to be paid to the bride's father, and in other villages there was no such thing. Under the system of marriage price, the would-be-groom is required to work in the field and house-hold of the father or guardian of the would-be-bride. The period of 'work' varies from six months to one year. During this period the boy is to prove, by his work, his ability to maintain a wife. By his selfless work he is to win the love of the girl and affection of her parents. Where there is no marriage price, the boy is to present some articles such as dao and spear etc as a matter of honour to the parents of the girl. This presents of course will be made when the marriage is settled.

In both the cases, marriage price or no price, the boy is to construct a house for his own, to have his own establishment there after

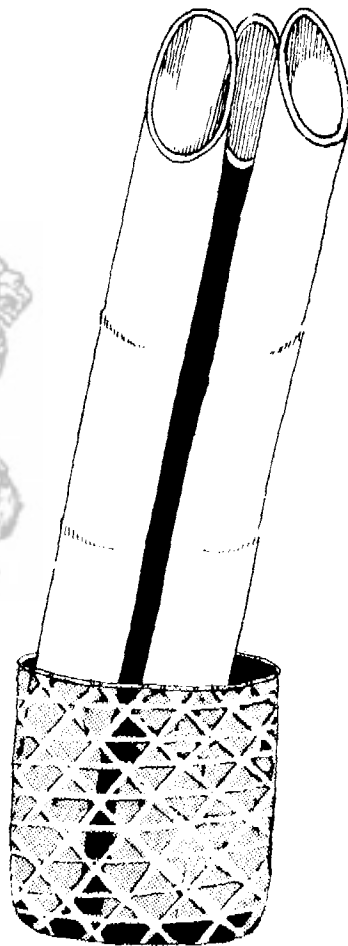
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



KHANG (BASKET)



SPEAR



BAMBOO CHUNGA FOR
CARRYING WATER



A modern Ao girl smiling at you

marriage. This is the beginning of his being separated from his parents' family.

In either case, price or no price, a date is fixed for the marriage. On the appointed day the boy together with his close relations go to the house of the girl carrying a number of basket of paddy and other presents. The groom's party goes to the house of the bride in the evening and feasts there along with other invitees. The cost of the feast is borne by the groom.

In the house of the bride, the elders of both the party talk and agree to the various conditions of the marriage such as divorce and payment thereof etc. This talk and agreement is the actual part of the marriage, because there is no other agreement or solemnisation. Then feast follows and thereafter the bride is brought to the newly constructed house of the groom.

Marriage generally takes place in March-April, that is just after sowing, when there is not much field work.

Almost cent percent of the Aos are Christian and Christians do not observe the old rules and rituals of marriage. Therefore traditional rules of marriage are no longer found among them. The groom no longer serves the father-in-law's house nor does he pay any compensation therefor. But often, probably as remnant of the tradition, the son-in-law voluntarily helps the father-in-law financially or otherwise. It may be mentioned that Christian marriage takes place in the Church and with all Christian rituals.

Divorce

In olden times divorce among the Aos was very common¹. In fact, divorce was so easy that it was very rare to find an old couple who had married only once. In case the man commits adultery his wife may sue for divorce, and when they part in divorce she is compensated by giving many household articles as her share. If adultery is committed by the wife she is divorced uncer-

1. That the divorce was very common has been mentioned by J. P. Mills, in his book, the Ao Nagas, p. 275.

moniously and without any property. In fact, she goes away only with her bare clothes. If a man commits adultery with the wife of another person then the husband of that wife not only may divorce her but demand fine from the offending man.

Since there is no marriage price nowadays on either side, marriage is easy and still easier should have been divorce but in fact it is not so because of Christianity (Baptist) which does not allow easy divorce and almost cent percent of the Aos are Christians.

SOCIAL LIFE

Inheritance

The laws of inheritance is basically same among all the Naga tribes, that is, the line of succession follows male heirs only and no female is entitled to inherit any property though she may possess it.

Among the Aos the property goes from father to son and if a man dies without any son, his property will go to his brothers or brothers' sons as the case may be. And if there is no brothers' sons, it will go to his father's brother's sons, and so on.

Lion's share of property goes to the eldest son who receives the greatest share including the house. Then his younger brothers receive equal shares. However, if the eldest son has already established himself then he may give up his rightful claim of the largest share in favour of his younger brothers.

Division of property is not done before the death of the father. But if the sons or daughters are married they will go away with some property. According to Ao custom when a son of the family marries he shifts to his new house where the bride is brought. All the requirements of the new house are taken from his father's property. So also when a girl marries she takes her personal belongings and other articles like loom, clothing, ornaments, baskets, few utensils etc from her parents' house to the new house.

Landed property as a rule is maintained by joint ownership so that no break up follows. Immovable properties are not divided immediately after the death of the person, and not even in the second

generation, but in the third only. That is, the property of the grandfather, not the father, is divided among the sons of the grandfather's sons, on the basis of equal share for all the sons of the grandfather.

Details regarding inheritance of landed property is discussed in Chapter IV, Agriculture and Irrigation, under the sub-heading—Land Tenure.

Other than personal property, there is a village property also which is owned by the village jointly.

Unlike landed property, movable properties are divided soon after the death of the owner, and the line of succession follows male heirs. But since it is divided soon after the death of the owner, it goes directly to the sons and not to the grandsons, provided the sons are alive.

Women also get some share in the movable properties such as paddy, ornaments, fowls, clothes, weaving apparatus etc. The share of wife is just the same. A daughter may possess any property given to her by her parents or any other relative as a gift. It is her alone and no person has the right over it. A women can purchase and posses any property but on her death the landed property will devolve to her sons, and in absence of a son, to her brother, or father's line of succession.

Generally if a man dies the widow lives with her sons and she continues to be with them so long as she remains a widow. In case of her death her properties may be bequeathed to her brothers or sometimes her own sons and daughters if she leaves a will before her death. Even if the widow is married to another man he cannot claim his wife's property. However, any movable property earned or bought by widow herself is her absolute property and she can give it to any one at her will.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress

Acculturation has made the people modern in dress more than in anything else. Though it is just hundred years that the people have been brought under modern system of administration, in fact they have seen the light of the modern civilisation in the

last less than two decades only since when in 1957 the present State was brought under a separate administrative unit under the name Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA). Actually there has not been perceptible change in the dress over many centuries, but the birth of the new administrative unit and all round development and people's participation in it have brought change in outlook and brought money and so the dresses have changed greatly.

Formerly the men used to wear only loin cloth and nothing else. To keep warm (it is a cold place) they used to sit by fire and sleep by fire, and sometimes could not sleep due to severe cold. There was a system of using a chadar of course, but that was more ceremonial than common. But nowadays many of the men of even the remote villages, also use short pant, banian and a shirt; and a chadar in winter. Men in the towns or advanced villages, use trousers, sweater, chadar and what not. All the educated men dress in western way.

So far women are concerned, they used to wear a short mekhala which hardly used to come down up to knee and nothing for the upper part except the many stringed bead necklace to partly cover the shapely breast. Gradually they started using a blouse of Western type. But nowadays they, in the villages also use a long mekhala which comes down up to the ankle, a blouse and often a chadar. In the towns of course, they use all sorts of dresses such as skirt, mini skirt, maxi, lungi, trousers etc as well as sari and of course their own dress mekhalas of various designs. In all cases blouse of either Western or Indian type, or shirts and banian of the modern variety are used. Petticoat and bra are also used as usual.

Most of the educated girls are so advanced in dress and cosmetics that, as Haimendorf¹ having seen the quick progress of Nagaland is stated to have said in 1970, that there is chance of losing the balance. However the change in dress has come to stay.

1. Haimendorf is a noted German anthropologist and the author of 'The Naked Nagas'. He later wrote 'The Return to the Naked Nagas' after more than two decades,

TYPES OF DWELLING

Villages

Most of the Ao villages are situated on the summit of hills or at the higher elevation. This is also in case of all other Naga tribes. Villages were founded only in such location because of the tradition of head hunting and inter-village fighting. The villages are situated on a well defended position.

In the event of establishing a new village, people at first thoroughly survey the place and make sure that it is suitable for human habitation by considering availability of water, land for cultivation, and the location for general health etc.

In olden times when a new village was established the Aos had the custom of carrying a fire brand or torch called 'Milong ajung' from the old to the new village. It was done because they believed that some blessings from the old village would be taken to the new village by doing so.

The newly established villages are often named after the significance of the location such as abundance of some things as 'Longkhum' (Long=stone, Khum=many) which was named so because the village is situated in a place full of stones.

Housing

Villagers live in thatch houses. It is a big rectangular house roofed with thatch or in some cases with leaves of palm tree locally called SERA. Size of the houses varies on the average from 4x10 metre to 6x15 metre depending on the financial condition and social status of the owner.

It is built on raised ground of 15 to 25 cm and walled with plaited bamboo mats. Front portion is partitioned off to house the domestic pigs and fowls and to keep the pounding tables and tit bits. In the centre of the main house lies the cooking place and it is the all-purpose room to sit round the fire, to cook, to sleep also and so on. There may be one or two small rooms within the main house for sleeping.

In the rural areas there is no separate sty for the pigs or separate house for other domestic animals such as fowls and

ducks etc. Cows are kept outside the house, untethered, and usually they throng in several places of the village. Since milking is generally done nowadays the calves are tied and kept separated from their mothers.

Modern houses, of which there are a few in every village nowadays, are of modern design. It is either hill-type or reinforced cement concrete structure. People have learnt and developed a strong desire to live in better houses.

Food and Drink

Staple food of the people is rice. They also take millet, maize and taro (kachu) in time of difficulty. Rice or the main food is taken with meat, vegetable and chutney. All sorts of meat are taken, not excluding elephant, dog, bear, monkey, porcupine, squirrel and frog, whenever they get it. Few people do not take dog or snake. Beef is the common meat, but pork is more relished. Beef of mithun (gayal) is used for big feasts and ceremonies. All kinds of meat are taken; however they restrain from some which are taboo.

Most of the meat comes from domestic animals such as cow, pig, goat, fowl, Chinese duck and duck etc and it is supplemented by wild games which the people hunt with modern fire arms.

Being hills, waters are scarce and so is fish. However they fish in rivers during lean season and do relish it. Dried fish is a favourite item for chilli curry as well as for chutney.

Most of the cooking including meat and fish is done by simply boiling. Various vegetables including jungle leaves are also taken simply by boiling, and of course putting salt. Of the vegetables mustard leaf is the most common thing, and then in the last few decades have come up all sorts of vegetables. Of all the vegetables Squash is the most important and enduring one. Bamboo shoot is also widely used.

Food is taken thrice in a day, that is, in the morning, noon and afternoon. The last one is just before or at sunset.

The food habit and cooking process have also changed

considerably in the last two decades due to acculturation. But the change is mostly confined to the upper strata of people.

Of the drink, individually prepared rice beer was the house hold drink. But as a result of influence of Christianity (Baptist Mission) many people have given up rice beer. There are very few non-christian among the Aos and they of course still drink it. People seldom drink water, but whenever they feel thirsty they take tea. It is taken light and generally without sugar.

Milk was not in use before, but it is being used nowadays, but still much less.

POLITY

Village Defence

The inhabitants of the new village first give much importance to the village defence. They used to dig trenches around the village and panjis are planted inside the trenches as well as outside surrounding the trenches. Fencing is made around the village with hard wood and bamboo. There is only one gate to allow passage to the people of the whole village, and a bridge is made across the trench in the village gate. Watchmen are employed to guard the village throughout the day and night. This was all for defence of the village against any possible enemy attack which was frequent in those days. Nowadays, the danger of attack being over the defence arrangements are not kept in order. However, the ruins of those are still seen around old villages.

Inter Village Relationship

Every village seeks friendship or alliance with its neighbouring villages because it is an insurance of peace. Friendship between villages is established through initiative of an individual or group of people. In quest of friendship, people from one village go to another and the host village entertains them with plenty of rice-beer, meat and rich presents. The next year, the guest village play the host in reciprocity to their host village of the previous year. This process continues years together unless someone breaks this bond of friendship. This bond of friendship is known as 'Akan-jongshiba'. The villagers live in peaceful co-existence as long as this friendship exists. If one of the villages breaks the friendship

through some offence against the other village, enmity ensues. If the case or offence is a serious one resulting in loss of lives, fighting starts. After the fighting the loser village submits itself and admits its defeat and peace is concluded by paying compensation in the form of cattle, pigs, mithun or other articles acknowledging victor's superiority.

But in some cases feuds or fighting is averted through the arbitration of the village statesmen even if the offence is a serious one.

Ao Polity

According to the tradition, when a village is founded a village government is set up consisting of representatives of all the clans of the village. This government or village council of Elders is known as Putu Menden and the members of this council are known as Tatar. The Tatars hold office for one generation, that is 25 years. The members of Putu Mendens are selected from the senior age group of every clan. In some villages both Chungli and Mongsen speaking people are living side by side and in those villages they have two Putu-Mendens, one for Chungli and one for Mongsen group.

The village administration is carried on by the Tatars who, like the present administrative officers are responsible for policy and administration as well as dispensation of justice. Besides village administration, Putu Menden used to have a military department also. Brave people were usually selected and put in the fighting group. Now the military department is not there.

The Tatars retire from the membership of Putu Menden after 25 years of service. Then these retired Tatars become the Putirs (Priests) of the village. If some Tatars die before completion of 25 years term, then a new Tatar would be selected and he will serve for the remaining period of the deceased's term. After that he may be re-selected.

Morung or Bachelors' Dormitory

At present as a result of Christianity, education and civilisation, the olden system of Morung or Bachelors' dormitory has fallen into

disuse. But still the trail of tradition is manifest in the fact that the morungs are now used as sleeping houses of the unmarried men and women—some are used by men and some by women separately.

In olden time the morung used to be a fortress of the village as well as the sleeping house of unmarried men, and it had many other activities also. But those have fallen into disuse.

In olden time every boy, after attaining puberty used to enter the life of morung where they learned various aspects of the life in the society. Life in morung in fact used to prepare them for manhood. After intensive training and discipline in the morung, they turned out to be good warriors, and to be a good warrior was the life long aspiration of every youngman.

The morung was a recreational club as well. During festivals like Moatsu and Tsungremmong etc the boys of the morung used to take leading part in all the necessary preparations. Every moment of the festival day and night was spent in singing, dancing and merrymaking to their hearts' content till they were exhausted.

Ao morung is oval shaped. The inside contains cubicles and fire places where young men pass the night listening to old stories and adventures, or learning the art of warfare etc. The roof of the morung is made spectacularly high at the front gable but it slopes gently down the sides and almost touches the ground at the back. The porch of the morung is sometimes open and sometimes fenced. The main post at the porch has got figurines with striking representation of tigers, elephants, hornbills, human figures, crocodiles, lizards etc. Around the walls they used to hang the skulls of the hunted men and the trophies of war. Skulls of animals too were kept there.

Outside the morung there is a large wooden platform on which the young men sit and relax. It was also used as a watch post for the village.

The morung is also a guardhouse of the village. So there is the big log-drum nearby. The drum is hollowed out of a big trunk like a canoe. It is elaborately carved in the front to resemble a buffalo's head or the front of a ship. It is hollow inside and when it is beaten, a sound is produced which can be heard from a distance of

several miles. The log drum is used only in times of danger, ceremonies or some important occasions. It produces a dull but large booming sound and its pitch and rhythm are indicative of different signals.

Head-Hunting

Before the introduction of Christianity and modern civilisation head-hunting was a part of every day life of the Nagas, and so the Aos also. In those days internecine feuds among the tribes or between villages of the same tribe used to occur culminating in the loss of heads, and the cutting and carrying away the head was the glory of head-hunting. A man who had cut enemy's head was ceremoniously honoured and respected by people as a warrior and hero. Therefore, the entire Naga life, so also the life of the Aos seemed to have revolved round the practice of head-hunting and its glory. In fact, it was regarded as the greatest honour and glory for a man to be a successful head hunter with an enemy head to his credit, as it was for the rich man's wish to offer feasts of merit. By accomplishing any of these feats only, a man was entitled to wear special dress and ornament and also to decorate his house signifying special status. Hence the much coveted shawl called Tsungkotepsu, which symbolises success in head hunting and wealth, can be worn only by warriors, that is, successful head-hunter, and rich men who had offered feasts of merit. Ordinary people had no right to wear it.

Life of the Nagas, and so the Aos also was regarded incomplete unless a head had been taken or feasts of merit had been given. It was true, because a man can wear some special dresses and ornaments and also decorate his house only after taking enemy head or by offering feasts of merit. It was such deeds only that earned them respect and honour in the community and such a deed was enough to win favour of the girls who were all praise for that kind of man.

Head-hunting seems to be the inspiration in the works of art and crafts, songs and dances etc also.

The days of head-hunting are gone and have fallen into oblivion due to the influence of Christianity and civilization. It

is now a thing of the past. The evils of head-hunting are now remembered only with remorse as morbid practice of the heathens.

Feasts Of Merit

Feasts of Merit are considered as the central feature of traditional Ao social life. It was everybody's wish and longing to perform the feasts of merit and to be a successful warrior in head-hunting which were the two most admired deeds for great honour and glory in life in this world and in life hereafter, as they believed. There are a series of feasts and ceremonies, each one more important and costlier than the preceeding one. The person who offers the feasts of merit is much respected and honoured in the community. Each feast entitles him to social distinction for himself, his family and his clan too; and none-the-less for the village also because performing sacrifices is said to bring favour of the spirits for prosperity among the people. By offering a series of feasts of merit the host earns the coveted right of wearing certain clothes such as Tsungotepsu (for men), and some other clothes and ornaments etc for women. It is only married people who offers feasts of merit because the wife plays an important part throughout the festival. There is a series of three sacrifices which culminate in the much honoured mithun sacrifice. They are the following.

TEPU APETPA OR TIAR KULEMBA is the first sacrifice of this series. It means "Worship of Fate-deity". In this sacrifice two or more pigs are killed and sacrificed. There is feasting and distribution of meat to close friends of the host but the giver does not take the meat. The feast is concluded by saying invocations by the oldest man of the clan. The sacrificer is not entitled to any new dress nor status at this stage. In this ceremony the host observes genna¹ for thirty days.

NASHI ACHIPA which means "Bull-killing" is the second feast. In this feast a red, healthy and grown up auspicious bull is sacrificed. The feast lasts for five days and the third day is important, for on this day the sacrificer and his wife come out of their house in full dress accompanied by two of their formal friends. Then they perform some rites and offer prayer. Divinations are also undertaken. They examine the colour of rice-beer of the

1. Genna means prayer, worship, tabco, *a-sauch* etc.

mug and then entrails of the cock from where they read the omens. Then the man and his wife re-enter their house for they should never see the bull being killed. The meat is divided among the people but neither the sacrificer nor his household can partake of it. Then the skull of the bull is hung up in the front room of his house. The sacrificer through bull-sacrifice is entitled to the rights of wearing some dresses and ornaments of status. He can also put decorations and engravings in his house.

SUCHI. Then as prelude to mithun sacrifice the sacrificer has to offer some gifts to the village priests and other elders. Meat is also distributed to every man of his clan and selected elders of different clans.

Suchi, meaning 'Mithun-killing' is the last that completes a series of ceremonies and sacrifices of the feasts of merit. It is also the greatest of all the feasts. On the eve of Suchi the sacrificer undergoes some purgatorial rites to cleanse himself before the feast actually begins. The actual mithun sacrifice ceremony lasts for five days.

On the first day announcement is made that the mithun sacrifice will be there. The mithun for sacrifices is decorated on its neck and horns. On the second day the mithun is tied up to a post in the middle of the village street¹ at the place where dances are held. Then torturing of the mithun starts and a good warrior takes the privilege of initiating it². People dance round the mithun thrice. The sacrificer and his wife then appear with two formal friends who perform some rites and offer prayer, and then depart to their house. After that an old man spears the mithun and it is dragged alive to sacrificer's house. Then the women of the sacrificer's clan dance round his house. On the fourth day, before dawn, two of the village priests announce the formal death of the mithun. That day the meat of the mithun is distributed and the skull is displayed in the front room of his house. The last day is concluded when the sacrificer kills a pig in front of his granary with invocation and solemn prayer.

1. Generally the houses of village are arranged on both the sides of the village street.

2. The practice of killing a mithun for sacrifice was not by slaughtering but by torturing it.

When the series of ceremonies and sacrifices is thus completed, a man is entitled to a social distinction to display his status in his dress, and decorate his house signifying wealth.

COMMUNITY LIFE

Games and Sports

Ao Society was a well organised one even in the past. Youngmen and women were brought up in strict discipline and were trained in different games and sports too not only for the games' sake but for training them to become good warriors. In olden times since head-hunting was a prestigious game, life was always at stake, demanding every youngman to be smart and expert to protect himself or escape from the enemys' hands. The games and sports of the indigenous origin are discussed below.

JAVELIN OR SPEAR THROW. It is one of the most important games for men not only for games' sake but for training themselves to become able and accurate javelin throwers to fight against their enemy or to fight wild animals. Every youngman regularly participated in spear-throwing. Even now farmers in the village still use spears for hunting games or for fighting the wild animals, thereby, protecting their fields from the ravages of the animals. The spear has great importance having religious significance. Its practice wards off evil spirits, as the Aos believe.

WRESTLING. All men are expected to prove their valour and strength by taking part in wrestling. The contenders stand face to face, catch hold of each other and try to overpower the other. One who succeeds in throwing down the other is declared winner. This wrestling is quite different from that of Angamis because in Angami wrestling the wrestler binds a chadar (a strong piece of cloth or wrapper) round his waist and both the contenders hold each other's chadar with both hands. Then they try to throw down each other applying all their strength on the chadar but not touching any other part of the body. This is Angami wrestling, and Aos differ from it.

WOOD OR CANE CHOPPING. Chopping with dao is another interesting game. It needs one's accuracy in chopping off

the wood or cane, piece by piece at one stroke. The person who could cut the wood sharply leaving a smooth mark of the cut at one-stroke is acclaimed as the best of the competitors. Such experts are also expected to be good head-hunters. In the past when head-hunting was prevalent, one who kills the enemy must cut off the head of the victim failing in which was considered as a bad omen.

LONG JUMP. In the past there was no definite rule for long jump as in modern times. Long jump was practised by every youngman giving more importance on self training so that during war times one would be able to jump over long distances or obstacles of the village walls of the enemy.

HIGH JUMP. The method of high jump is same as in modern times though the style of high jump in the past was very simple. The posts and bars for high jump are made of bamboo slits. High jump was a very popular event for the warriors in the past. Every youngman practised high jump regularly so that one could save oneself from the hands of the enemy who might be encountered any moment at any place. The importance of high jump in the past is told in an old heroic story known as "Pentochepchep Ritsung". In the story we are told of a certain youngman named Toshiba who was adopted by the chief of an enemy village known as Nokrang. Toshiba was a handsome youngman. Women, irrespective of age, found him irresistible and offered their love submissively. Men folk grew jealous and when they could not tolerate anymore they planned to do away with Toshiba's life by holding a big village feast where Toshiba would be put to death on his sixth round of running back and forth. Toshiba smartly dressed in full colour appeared amidst the mixed feeling and cheers of the village crowd, and began to run forward towards the village fort and went back round the field repeatedly for five times. On the sixth round, when he was about to be killed, Toshiba gathered strength and stunned the crowd by jumping high in the air and crossing over the high fort wall of the village. Toshiba could perform the surprise feat because he regularly practised high jump and long jump as a youngman is supposed to do. Toshiba thus averted the fateful day of his life and turned it into a glorious one to be ever remembered by the people till this day.

POLE CLIMBING. It is also an indigenous game. Warriors

often used to climb bamboo trees and vault down on the elevated platforms or fort of the enemy village while attacking it. The top end of the bamboo tree is tied down with a rope to a post or tree nearby. Then as soon as enemy heads are taken or the village is set to fire, the warriors untie the rope, vault back on the bamboo tree to the forest and disappear.

TUG-OF-WAR. Tug-of-war is another interesting game although it needs a lot of physical strain. In some festive occasions it plays an important part and it is interesting to see both men and women participating in the tug-of-war to their hearts' content amidst cheers and exhortations on both sides of the competitors.

COCK-FIGHTING. It is one of the most exciting and favourite games of the boys. In this game the contenders stand on their left leg while their right leg is stretched behind and pressed against their buttock with their right hand holding it tight. The contenders stand apart facing each other and try to knock down each other by nudging one another with their shoulder. The winner ultimately compels the loser to release the raised leg to ground from the grip of the right hand. The loser then retires to be one of the spectators and the victor accepts other challengers and goes on doing it till he wins all or is defeated. It is interesting to see spectators and competitors who either stand or sit forming a circle and watch the cock-fighters with curious eyes. In this game two persons or a group of persons fight at a time depending on the number of participants.

PEG TOPS OR SPIN TOPS. In the past the game of peg tops or spin tops locally known as 'mezung' was a favourite game of the boys especially during Tsungremmung festival when boys of the whole village spin tops. But it is not much in use these days. Nowadays marble game has substituted most of the indigenous games of the children.

Games for girls are very few. Games with sword-bean seeds are played with much zest and enthusiasm by the girls. The game has several stages, each entering into more and more difficult stage. But it is quite interesting to observe the game which is played with a lot of patience as it is the nature of the game.

With the change of times, various modern athletics and games have been introduced. All Schools and Colleges not only hold tournaments and sports-week but also participate at State tournaments and even in All-India games, and they bring good name to the people.

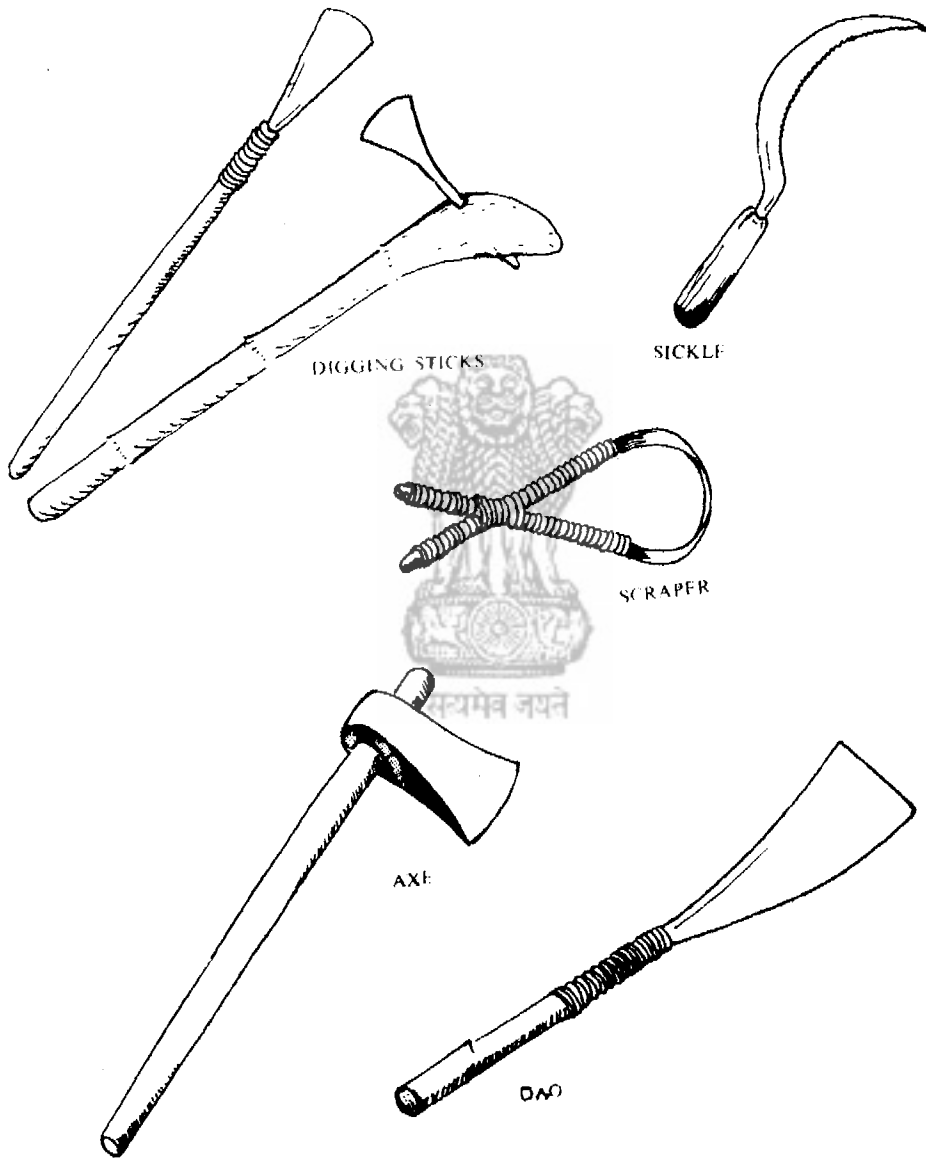
Hunting Games

In hunting, Nagas in general and so the Aos are experts. Stories are being told of adventures in hunting. Their skill in circumventing the game is note-worthy. The method of catching animals by the Aos is very interesting. Long bamboo spikes are planted erect within the traps and pitfalls. Over the traps a thin covering of earth is laid. Animals that set foot on these traps certainly become victims of the devices. These are intricate devices, though cruel is the manner in which the preys are trapped and killed. Hunting games ranges from elephants, bears, leopards to squirrels and small birds. Corporate system of hunting big games such as tigers, deers, hares, wild pigs, bears etc is quite interesting. It is a system of picketing the hunting ground at respective location by groups of men. If the animal is in a cave or a hideout, dogs are essential which render valuable service in tracing out the whereabouts of the animal by their sense of smell. The picketers yell, cry and shout aloud provoking the animal to come out from its hidout and is then speared from one position to another until it falls. Elephants likewise are hunted corporately but chasing elephants being risky, the hunters take up positions over the trees and shriek at the animals, which when irritated set itself at random, upon which, the hunters spear or shoot it till it succumbs to the injuries. The tusks and flesh are the gains of the game. Pitfalls are also used to trap the animal.

Fishing

There are several devices to catch fish. Fishes of hill-streams although small in size are considered to be more tasty than those in the plains. The people use weirs for small catches. But during community fishing they use certain poisonous tuber known as 'zu' and seeds known as 'arr' which are thrashed and pounded and spread out in the stream thereby causing temporary loss of sense to the fishes and it compells them to come out from the depths of the river

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS





A terrace field in Mokokchung District

and flounder above water. And then they are caught. They also use walnut leaves to poison the river. This way a good amount of fish is caught. There is another method of catching fish. It is by diverting the course of the stream. Hunting or fishing is undertaken on a truly corporate basis. Share of the catches are distributed in accordance with the age and social rank of the fishing men or hunters. Corporate fishing expeditions are usually undertaken in some of the big rivers namely Tsula, Milak, Tsurong, Menung and Tsumok etc.

Fishing season is lean season, that is from October to March.

Nowadays traditional way of fishing has been more or less substituted by use of explosives, DDT powder and lime etc.

To the Aos, and Nagas in general, hunting expedition or fishing is ceremonial and sacred. They perform divination to ascertain whether the expedition is worthwhile. Dreams are also interpreted for the purpose. They also abstain from sexual intercourse the night before the fishing expedition. The same sexual inhibition is also followed before embarking on any hunting expedition. It is because that sex is considered as something inauspicious.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Festivals

Ao festivals are similar in character with the festivals of other Naga tribes. Most of the festivals are corporate in nature and related to war, headhunting and fertility of land, corresponding to different agricultural seasons, while some are related to the village only.

The two most important festivals for the Aos are Moatsu and Tsungremmong. During these festivals people sing and dance in jubilation. Beef and pork are also taken in abundance with modhu (rice-beer) all through the festival.

MOATSU festival falls in the month of May just after sowing of paddy seeds. Nowadays the dates of this festival have been fixed and it is held from 1st to 6th May every year. Moatsu festival is intended to appease the deities and to get blessing on the crops. On this occasion boys and girls of different age groups, called Zunga, rejoice themselves in singing and dancing and merrymaking, for this festival comes but only once a year. They also exchange gifts—young

men receive new dao belts from their lovers or admirers and the girls in return get new tobacco pipes¹. It is also an opportunity for the young men and women to spend the night together, as when singing, dancing and merry-making exhaust them, they finally retire themselves in silence.

An age group of boys known as Sungpurs are most responsible for necessary arrangement for the festival. They collect plenty of firewood, and wood for making dao holder. Morung is the centre of activity. It is here that human skulls and trophies of wars are displayed in a raised bamboo. It is known as Mangkodong meaning 'Skull tree' (Mangko = Skull, dong = tree).

The first three days of the festival are spent as a prelude to the main celebration. During this three days the young people of both sexes dance and sing in one place while elderly people too do the same things in another place. Various games and sports are arranged. Besides this, people join in the tug-of-war where men in one side and women in the other side pull the creeper rope amidst cheers and much excitement.

The fourth day is marked by the colourful exhibits of some people who appear in their respective dresses which represent symbols of good deeds in their lives. Shawls like Tsungotepsu could be worn only by warriors who have taken enemy head or the rich men who have offered feasts of merit. Common and ordinary people are not entitled to wear that shawl.

On the sixth and the last day, unrestrained feasting and merry making with songs and dance continue from morning till the next morning. Late in the evening a bonfire is lighted and only the boys and not girls sing and dance round it. This occasion is known as 'Sangpangtu'

The next morning the village priest offers the sacrifice of a pig and a fowl to the deities at the village gate and it concludes the Moatsu festival.

The festival described above is rather a past thing. At present because of the influence of Christianity, education and modern

1. Ao women smokes tobacco in pipe.

civilisation, all the pros and cons of the festival are not observed, but the social aspect and merry-marking part of it are observed.

TSUNGREM-MONG is the second important festival of the Aos. It is a harvest festival celebrated in the first week of August every year, generally from 1st to 6th. Tsungrem-mong is observed in honour of the God known as Lijaba. By doing so the people believed that they would have good harvest. During the festival, sacrifices are offered with prayer and invocation. Tsumgrem-mong festival is celebrated in the same manner as Moatsu festival with lots of meat, rice-beer, singing dancing, etc. Cows and Pigs are killed in every khel and meat is distributed to every house. The villagers do not go anywhere and they observe certain genna (prohibition) very rigidly so that the God of harvest is pleased and that ushers in a good harvest. People also refrain from sexual intercourse during this festival which varies from 3 to 6 days.

An important event during this festival is the tug-of-war-dance. People, young and old of both sexes, dressed in the finest of their costumes appear in the place all brightly with festive look. Then they drag the long rope-like creeper of sword bean by singing and dancing to the rhythm of the song. Rejoicing in singing, dancing and feasting, the Tsungrem-mong festival is ended. God Lijaba thus pleased, the people hope that he will shower them with rich blessings for plentiful harvest.

Moatsu and Tsungrem-mong are non-christian festivals. But nowadays Ao people have become cent percent Christian and so, in order to preserve the practice of the last traces of ancient cultural heritage, Christians themselves also observe these festivals. But unlike the non-christians, gennas are not observed nor rice-beer is served. Of course they do feasting and partake of meat in plenty. They also take to singing traditional songs and dancing and merry-making.

CHRISTMAS Christians observe Christmas (birth of Christ) festival which is observed on the 25th December every year. It is celebrated with pomp and grandeur not only in the town but in all the villages. For celebrating Christmas, preparation starts as early as the 2nd week of

December. By 20th of December Christmas carol songs are sung in full throat every where and everyone, young and old, takes part in it. Every evening special services are held and specially dramas on the life of Christ are staged after evening service is over. People, all bright and cheerful, are seen busy as they engage themselves in preparation for the great day. Christmas trees are planted everywhere. The Church, the street, houses and surroundings—all washed and cleaned—are adorned with colourful decorations. Irrespective of the background of the people, rich and poor, young and old, everybody joins in rejoicing and celebrating Christmas. It is celebrated not only for its significance as the birthday of Christ but for other reasons too. It is an occasion for re-union of families and friends alike who live apart. It is a time to redress strained relationships between the people who though living in the same place could not reconcile with each other for certain reasons howsoever trifle it might be. Christmas not only brings the glad tidings of the birth of the Saviour, but to all Christians it brings the message of love and hope. All the Christians take delight in celebrating the occasion with renewed dedication and hope for rejuvenation in each and everyone's own life.

The Christmas Stars that are hung up in bamboo poles high up above the roof of the houses or on trees remind one and all of the very star of Bethlehem as mentioned in the Bible.

The 25th December is celebrated with a lively church service and the preacher delivers a message about Jesus Christ, and special songs are also sung. The great celebration is complete by a grand feast after the service is over. Families and friends exchange gifts and invite each other for entertainment and fellowship. In this manner, Christmas the greatest festival of all the Christians is celebrated all over the district.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

Land Tenure

The system of land tenure, in the district, with a few exceptions, is similar with other Naga tribes. The customary laws, although unwritten and based on customary usage give protection to private property. So is the same for the Aos also. Land belongs to the families and clans since time immemorial, so that each of them is bound to possess considerable plot where shifting cultivation can be practised conveniently from one place to another in rotation. The families and clans, therefore, when they were settled, tried to acquire as much land holding as possible¹.

If, however, a great portion of land remains unused, the legitimate joint holders may agree to lease a portion of it, but in all the cases, the land cannot be disposed of permanently. It may be quoted from Kohima District Gazetteers, that "Inheritance to landed property was so devised that the land remains under perpetual ownership of the family or a lineage group even though it has to be divided amongst the successors. The size of the land holding is a decisive factor in jhumming cultivation as families have to move from place to place after a plot of land has been affected by the jhum cycle. Land products such as bamboo, timber, stone and mineral products are considered to be the most important items of wealth. Because so much value is attached to the soil, it has been found sometimes difficult on the part of the administration to work out land acquisition schemes whatever compensation offered, because people know that cash value is rather ephemeral"².

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1. In some cases, lands were held in the name of the village but proprietary rights were exercised by the families.
The village council or co-ordinating authority looks into the location of shifting cultivation and other allied matters.
 2. Kohima District Gazetteer, P. 140

Among the Aos there is a sort of a corporate landed property of a village or khel over which a 'morung' and the constituted village authority claim ownership. Timber or bamboo extracted from it at given times is used for construction or renovation of village buildings such as log-drums, gate and morungs etc. For generations the plot of land held by the successors is put to a joint cultivation among the sons of the house and the produce is shared. There are ancestral lands which belong jointly to a clan. The land remained in the possession of a clan or its recognised group which remained undivided for many generations. A plot of such land may be assigned for a temporary period to any landless member of the clan, who, as such is entitled to cultivate, graze and collect timber and make out other means of subsistence within a specified time limit. But he would have to vacate it after the limit thus decided is over, or after such member has found out other means of subsistence.

However, any individual member of the clan who is entitled to get a share of clan-lands may be deprived of the right in certain cases. In this connection we may quote from Tajenyuba Ao's book 'Ao Naga Customary Laws'¹ "Sometimes when a member of a clan was unable to pay up litigation debts to the aggrieved party, landed property of the clan was confiscated in lieu of payment. If the debtor failed to make compensation to his clan for the value of the confiscated property or to recover that property, the debtor was expelled from the remaining property of his clan".

Ao system is essentially democratic in principle. But things have changed very fast so that in many cases the land specifically held by an individual might not be discernable from that held by the clan. Village economy is intimately linked with land. Land absorbs man's fullest energy in the villages and mixed cropping is an important factor in the village agricultural economy.

Method of Cultivation

The main form of cultivation is Jhum cultivation or shifting cultivation. The other form is Terrace under which hardly there will be 10% of the cultivable land.

1. The 'Ao Naga Customary Laws' P. 58

Jhum is the predominant pattern of cultivation in the hilly regions and it is different from the type of cultivation practiced in the plains. Permanent cultivation on the pattern of Angami wet-rice terraced cultivation of Kohima District is quite a new thing in Mokokchung district, although farmers who have been acquainted with it, find it more paying and useful. The Aos practice shifting cultivation on the traditional pattern. The practice involves shifting of land on the part of cultivators who undertake an arduous work to cut the heavy jungle and convert it into a field where mixed cropping is applied. The cultivation in the same field is for two years only or at best three years, but definitely not beyond that. But as during the second year, the output may be much smaller than that of the first year, the cultivators are prone to find out new jhum fields. And then the cultivation is simultaneously undertaken in both new and old fields. The practice goes in rotation from one year to another.

Whatever may be the disadvantages, the local cultivators maintain that jhum is the only feasible method of cultivation in the hill steeps. Moreover, in this area, jhum gives better result than in the neighbouring hill regions because of the necessary attention paid to protect the fields from undue soil erosion. To get a clear idea of cultivation on slash and burn, below we quote from the *Techno-economic survey of Nagaland*.

“The cyclical routine of jhumming operates in the following manner. Each village has a given area set apart for cultivation, its size is traditionally determined and has not varied significantly for many years. Suppose for a village, this area is 160 hectares. In any particular year the village would decide on the basis of rough estimate of their requirement and their man power resources to cultivate a part of it, say, 20 hectares. The entire village would do the work of clearance and the cleared land then be cultivated by families according to the plots owned by them. If the size of new area chosen for cultivation remains 20 hectares year after, the total area set apart for cultivation by families would be covered in eight years. If no fresh area is brought under cultivation, the 20 hectares plot selected eight years ago is cultivated again and a new cycle begins. Another feature of this cycle is the recultivation of last year's plot. This means that in any one year two plots are cultivated, one for

the first time and the other for the second time. The crop from the previous years's plot bears the same relation to the crops from the current year's plot as the same relation to the crops from the current year's plot as the second crop does to the first in permanent cultivation. The clearing on the previous year's plot is not done as carefully the crop very much left to nature. Its yield is lower than the yield from the new plot".

Under the system of Jhum an area selected for cultivation is cleared of its shrubs and undergrowth. Then the smaller trees are also felled, but the big trees are not. Branches of the big trees are slashed so that the tree does not die and can bear fruits for its propagation. This work is done in October-November.

The felled trees, slashed branches and cleared shrubs etc lie there for several months to dry up. When it is dried fire is set to it, generally in the months of February and March. This time in the evening the entire district looks like many fire places. The fire burns the whole night and sometimes the next day also and gradually dies out. Most of the felled trees still being not dry do not get burnt but lie half-burnt.

Within a day or two the field is cleared of the logs unburnt or half burnt, and those are placed orderly from top to down of the field in such a way that the loose earth cannot be washed away. The logs are fixed with pegs to keep its position. It is a kind of making flat plots but the plots are never very flat nor the logs do form actual steps. However, it helps a lot to prevent erosion. But still then the top soil is washed to some extent and is mostly deposited on the upper side of the log-step. And as a result of this, the crop grows better on immediate upper side of the log than its far upper side, or down.

As a result of burning, the land gets more fertile because of the ash which contains lime and phosphate. Before burning the field, care is taken to clear about 3 to 6 metres round the field of the dry substances as fire-path so that the fire may not extend to other areas.

The soil is boggy and loose, because it has been formed by falling of leaves and branches and decayed annual undergrowth

and shrubs. Thus the soil is so soft that even without tilling the earth crops can be grown in some places but, however, the land is tilled with spade and hoe.

The land being ready, paddy is broadcast in the months of March and April depending on pre-monsoon showers. Though it is monsoon land, unlike other parts of India, crop never fails here due to drought. Adequate rain is there and the distribution is quite good because practically no week goes without rain. There is no record of crop failure due to drought, but ill distribution or insufficient fall may affect the growth adversely but it does not totally fail. Similarly also there is no flood and there is no record of crop being destroyed by heavy rain. Of course, storms and cyclonic winds may cause damage, but not total failure.

After sowing it is weeded out two to three times till the plants are fully grown up. The paddy ripens and is ready for harvesting in August and September.

A field thus cultivated once or even two to three years also, if it is sufficiently fertile and then is kept fallow for the next seven to ten years depending on the fertility of the land. After that period the same land is cultivated again.

This is Jhum.

Though Jhum is the traditional method of cultivation, its production is much less than in Terrace. For example in Jhum the production of rice per hectare is 865 kg whereas that under Terrace is 1550 kg per hectare ¹.

Terrace

It is the other form of cultivation. Under it a piece of land, generally in the valley so that water can be channelled there, is made into flat plots by cutting the surface and side. Sometimes the side is raised also by some sort of retention wall of stones. Size of the plots depend on the contour and slopes of the land. If it is a gentle slope the plots are bigger, and if the slope is sharp, the plots are smaller. So also the height of the plots

1. Figures received from Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland.

depends on the slope of land. If the slope is gentle the height is less, and if the slope is sharp, the height is more.

This way the field is prepared into many plots of flat land and the sides of each flat piece of land are raised 20 to 30 cm above the land. This is done to hold the water.

Water is brought from a nearby stream or fall, of which there are many during rainy season. Sometimes water from a road side nalla is also canalised to the field. Sometimes the water is taken for several kilometres together round the neck or side of a hillock to reach the field.

The field is spaded and kept ready for making mud as soon as the water is available. Thus when the water reaches the field, it is turned into a thick mud or dough with the help of spade and human feet.

Gradually from top to bottom, one after another, all the plots are turned into muddy land. It may be noted that when the first plot is filled with water, a passage is cut into one of its sides to allow the water to go down to the next plot. From second to third plot the water is let in the same way, and so on until the last plot is flooded. These passages from one plot to another are not at the level of the land. Because in that case no water will accumulate in the land. So the passages are about 15 cm above the bowl so that always 15 cm of water will stand in the field. The same arrangement is there in the last plot also so that the extra water other than 15 cm may go out.

When thus the field is ready, paddy plant are taken out from the seed bed which is already made earlier and planted in this field.

The water is allowed to stay the whole period of the growth of the plants and sometimes allowed to dry up just before harvesting.

No weeding is needed.

The field is ready for harvesting in October-November.

This is terrace cultivation.

Agricultural Tools and Implements

The age-old agricultural tools and implements are still in

vogue since jhum cultivation is practically same as it was in the past. Of all the implements dao is the most essential one for cutting the trees, clearing the jungle and for many other purposes. For cutting and felling big trees axe is often used. Spade, dao, pick, dibble etc are used for scratching and dibbling the earth. The ash is well distributed, conserved and soil levelled with the help of these implements. Then the field is thoroughly raked and harrowed with rake, hoe and harrow. When the paddy plants grow up, weeding is done with the help of hoe and scraper. For harvesting, sickle is generally used. Baskets of bigger shapes and sizes made of bamboo slits are used to store up the crops during the harvest or after. For carrying paddy home, bamboo baskets conical in shape, are used.

Crops

In the jhum field crops of various kinds are grown besides paddy. In many cases, other crops are sown even before sowing paddy. Taro or Kachu (colocasia—a plant of arum family) is widely cultivated for its edible root stock, young shoots and the leaves also serving many kinds of curry. Millet (jobs tears) and maize are cultivated along with paddy and seldom separately. Potato, sweet potato, pulses, creeping dal, soyabeans (generally known as Naga dal) french beans, cotton, ginger, chilli, pumpkin, cucumber, melon, lentil, oilseeds, gourds including bitter gourds, ladies fingers, etc are all grown mixed with paddy or sometimes on the outskirts of the field. Several varieties of vegetables like cabbage, cauliflower, carrot etc which are introduced in recent decades are also grown in separate plots.

In terrace no other crop than paddy is grown. Of course after harvesting of the paddy some people use the land for growing vegetables.

Crop Calendar

In the new field paddy, the principle cereal crop, is sown in March or April and is harvested in August or September. In the old fields paddy is sown little earlier and is ready for harvest by August and September. Millet sown in March-April are plucked by July-August. Potato has two seasons, the winter potato sown

in October is ready for harvest by January or February. Sweet-potato takes quite a longer time and the harvest is done not until December. Arum (taro) sown around March is plucked in September or October. Lentils sown in March-April is usually plucked in October or November. Cotton is harvested in November or December. Pumpkin is plucked in August or September. Mustard leaf is grown in winter months. Cucumber and melon are plucked by July and August. Cabbage and cauliflower are taken out in December-January. Oilseeds sown in March are ripe by October. Crops like maize, millet and taro are supplementary food crops. Besides, these are used as fodder for pigs and poultry too. Of course the birds are not given taro but maize and millet.

Cash Crop

Each village is self sufficient in respect of cereal crops and they do not grow more for sale. However, pan leaves, squash, beans, chilli, potato and orange etc form the principal cash crops. Other crops are not transacted on any large scale but villagers keep for themselves sufficiently. However, a tendency has grown among villagers near the administrative head-quarters to grow more vegetables for sale.

The district was famous for cotton. They grew and sold a bulk of cotton to the plains from the regime of Ahom kings till the beginning of this century. But then the cultivation of cotton has been abandoned because thread or yarn is available in the market at a cheaper rate. Mustard seeds, chilli and betel leaves are other cash crops which find demand both in the highlands and also in the Sibsagar and Mikir plains. Yachang, Lirmen, Molung, Asangma, Merangkong, Longchang and Kangtsung villages produce betel leaves in good quantities and it is supplied to the hills and plains markets.

The climate of this district is congenial for fruit farming. Oranges are produced by many villagers in the homestead gardens where treatment can be accorded more conveniently. Some households keep good orchards. Orange is one of the main cash crops. The plucking season is from the middle of October until January or so. Almost in all villages in the lower ranges orange is grown but the most important villages which produce it on commercial

basis are Changki, Chuchuyimlang, Longchang, Merangkong and Asangma. Lemons in small quantity are also produced. Other fruits such as plum, pears, apricots, apples have good prospects. Oranges from the Changki orchards are utilised to feed the canning factory instituted recently at Longnak. Pineapple is also produced in many places. A good quantity of pineapple and orange grown in Changtongya is sold locally.

Soil Erosion

The people use the traditional system of checking heavy soil erosions. For this the people put stumps of wood as embankment especially at delicate and loose portions. Another way is by allowing a few trees to stand and attain some height with a thin canopy of boughs. The practice is followed in order that the roots of undergrowth and the trees would help to retain the soft soil from erosion in the rainy season. This practice is followed because otherwise, as is the experience of cultivator, during the rainiest part of the year the soil, over top of the hill, even with a heavy texture, is washed away down the hill. Yet irrespective of the measures, the law of diminishing returns appears to be more in action in jhum than in terraced cultivation.

Irrigation

The farmers use their own traditional means for irrigating their fields. The two traditional irrigational systems in Nagaland given in the book 'Techno-Economic Survey of Nagaland' also apply for Mokokchung district. According to the book there are two kinds of irrigation.

- (a) Contour channels for distributing water from hill streams at higher altitudes.
- (b) Contour channels leading from small reservoir built by constructing dams over streams.

Mokokchung district, after introducing wet rice terrace cultivation, has taken up steps for the improvement of the method of cultivation. Water-channels were constructed to flood the field

before the paddy plants are planted. In order to store up water for supplying to the field in time, bunds are also constructed. Cultivators trying wet-rice cultivation are given subsidised assistance from the Agriculture Department.

Progress Of Scientific Agriculture

Practically nothing or very little was done during Pre-Independence period to introduce improved methods in respect of agriculture. True, during the close of the British administration efforts were made to introduce terrace cultivation and a few demonstrators were placed in the district but there was no much progress. But after the formation of the Interim Government in 1961, the Directorate of Agriculture at the State level came into being which has laid special emphasis on the improvement of agricultural system.

Notable efforts have recently been made to encourage wet-rice terraced cultivation in the district. It necessitates construction of irrigation channels, as during the transplantation stage the fields are to be flooded. The administration has, therefore, offered to extend assistance to farmers to the tune of 50% of the expenditure. Moreover technical advice by demonstration or otherwise is made available to ensure a successful undertaking. The results have now been encouraging as many farmers have undertaken terrace cultivation.

Another measure is the distribution of fertilizers such as ammonium sulphate, super phosphate, urea of potash and bone-meal to the villagers which are now in good use to increase the output of crops. Proper demonstrations are also done to make effective use of such fertilisers.

To intensify agricultural production other important measures have been adopted. Prompt action to meet food shortages is also taken. But such needs are not frequent because the villages have sufficient crops such as rice, other cereals and local dals. Of course, rice is a more vital crop because it is a compulsory diet which is being taken thrice daily. Barring newly set up administrative centres, villages are selfsufficient in respect of rice. But from time to time, owing to weather conditions and other factors partial crop failures are also reported.

As relief measures, agricultural loans are also extended to deserving applicants on the fulfilment of certain conditions such as giving of security pledges and mortgages.

Insects and pests cause great damage to the crops from time to time¹. The people formerly used traditional remedies against pests by performing sacrifices and offering prayers to the spirits. But present Ao people being almost cent percent Christians, such practice has been abandoned. Now people utilise the services of the Agricultural Department which use scientific remedies through chemicals, such as ammonia gammexane, DDT powder, nicotine sulphate etc which have been found to be of great help.

Besides, demonstration is done on the use of improved seeds of potato, vegetables, paddy, hybrid maize and sugar cane etc. Demonstration is also carried on plant protection. Other seeds, seedlings and crops such as orange seedling, pineapple, apple, plum, pear, etc are also provided for large application on subsidised assistance. Other seeds such as wheat, maize, hybrid paddy are also distributed.

Owing to the locating of a fruit canning centre, horticultural development is going through a planned phase by which citrus fruits cultivation is being reviewed for promotion. It may also be mentioned that Changki orchards are being maintained to feed the canning centre.

Among other measures, there is extension of agricultural loans to the deserving farmers. The Department of Agriculture has been laying special emphasis on reasearch, horticulture, pathology, pisciculture and soil survey. Several other efforts are also being made to make the food production drive a success.

Government Nurseries, Farms and Research Stations

A horticultural farm is situated at Tuli which was started during the Interim Government period (1961-64). A variety of fruits such as

1. Considerable damage is also done to the plantation by wild animals such as monkeys, wild pigs and at the foothills by elephants. So that it has become necessary to keep constant watch when the green stalks have issued forth in the field.

pineapple, musumbi, plum, peach, lemon, banana etc have been introduced in that farm.

At Yisemyong, where an agricultural farm is located, research and demonstration works are conducted in agriculture. Emphasis is being laid on the treatment of potato, maize, gourd, sugarcane and cabbage. Wet-rice terraced cultivation is also carried out. Perhaps Yisemyong is the largest agricultural farm in Nagaland State. Crops raised there are also sold to the local people.

Fruit Preservation Factory

The Government of Nagaland has set up a fruit preservation factory at Longnak valley. A Fruit Technological Officer is in-charge of this factory. In Changki valley orange is grown in abundance. The villagers produce it in commercial quantity. Orange growers at present sell it to the Government by bringing it to the factory which is not far from their farms. Thus it benefits both the orange growers and the Government. The factory here is now producing on commercial scale. The North Eastern Council (NEC) to which the State of Nagaland has been affiliated, has taken up developmental programmes for Nagaland which includes Regional Horticultural Nursery in Changki valley. The programme, if implemented will increase the factory's production capacity to a great extent.

Pisciculture

In September 1959¹ a brief report was submitted as to the feasibility of the extent, size and strength in respect of pisciculture to be introduced in the district. The sites proposed in the present district are :

1. *Ungma*— A tank of a private pisciculturist was existing. Being fed by a number of underground springs, the water of this tank is rising to about 10 ft, during the rains. The site is also promising for the culture of mirror carps.

2. *Mopungchukit*— There is a partially silted ancient tank. Its area is about one acre. There also mirror carps may be introduced.

1. File No. 207/259/FA.



Tree tomatoes on the tree



Jhum is still the main form of agriculture in this district

So far pisciculture is concerned, the experiment may first start with stocking in the old tanks or other reservoir to be newly built with mirror carps and fingerlings. But measures have also to be taken to conduct training amongst villagers about this important technique to cope with the demand of fish in the hills.

Pisciculture is quite a new thing although certain schemes for fishery are also extended to the individuals. A Seeds Production Farm has recently been introduced at Dimapur in the Kohima District.

Livestock

Pigs, poultry and cattle are the most important domestic animals. But in the past mithuns were also kept in almost all the villages. In the past a great number of them were reared and preserved for sacrificial and ceremonial feasting. The animals, therefore, were much valued in those days¹. It is still valued and reared in every house but the demand is much more than the production. As a result, almost all the cattle are brought from the plains and pigs are brought from as far as Bihar.

The weather is cool and bracing at the higher altitudes and is quite congenial for rearing cattle. There is also good pasture grounds and plenty of grass where cattle can thrive well. The animals look quite sturdy and strong although small in size.

During the early British days, mithuns were kept in large number and were annually slain at village feasting. Mithuns were attached great importance at the festivals. But it is reported that because of torturous way of killing of this animal, the administration prohibited the wanton killing of the mithuns. Unfortunately at present, the number has dwindled. In fact there is no more left of it.

There has been a constant import of cattle from the plains to

1. Animals have multifarious value. Marriage prices and judicial fines were settled in the number of cattle or animals. It is known that in the past larger villages used to exact tribute from smaller villages in number of animals

supplement meat markets in the hills. Pigs in good number are also brought from outside. In the outlying foothills buffaloes are also reared. In the hills goat is also reared but the number is meagre. Aos utilise hairs of animals both wild and domesticated for the purpose of ornamentation and decoration.

The people in the foothills hold intermediary trade in cattle and supply them to the areas on the eastern highlands of Mokokchung. There are also cattle-butchers in Mokokchung town who frequently bring cattle from the plains for local consumption.

Among all the animals, perhaps pigs are attended with more care as special fodders prepared of crops are given to them. The Nagas have more of pigs than poultry and cattle. One disadvantage is that special piggery or pigsty is not raised. Generally the cows have no shed but now it is taken care of at some villages and cattle are reared in larger number in Khutis¹ where cattle are kept and sheltered at night.

In other places, during slack agricultural season, cattle are let loose. Elsewhere a porch during the rainy season serves as a cow-shed. Animals are sometimes accepted as the media of exchange on the occasions when fines are paid and disputes settled. The people do not raise special pens for poultry but keep them inside the house. Nowadays there is a pen constructed or small cages are made for the fowls almost in every house.

Since the inception of the Interim Government, attempts have been made to organise the Veterinary Department in the district and it came into being in January 1965. The services rendered by the veterinary institutions have been highly valued by the local people both in respect of upgrading their breed and according appropriate medical care to them. Besides poultry farms, upgrading centres, pig breeding centres, cattle breeding centres, pest eradication units and feed manufacturing centres have been started.

1. Khuti is a long cowshed and usually it is run by Nepalis in this district or even in whole of Nagaland. Usually three-four persons are attached to a Khuti and generally 25 to 30 cows are maintained in each.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

Introduction

Though this area came under British administration in 1876, for about hundred years there was no industry in this area because the British Government did not feel the necessity of developing this area. Not only the then Naga Hills but even in Assam also there was practically no industry till the beginning of this century. All through this period of about a century this area was administered with minimum of interference in the life of the people. Therefore, it is quite natural that this area should be very backward industrially still now. However, only after the formation of NHTA in 1957 there has been an effort for all round development and setting up of industries. Since then, gradually some small scale industries have grown up. And yet Mokokchung district or rather the whole of Nagaland is still in its infancy in the field of industry. This area, however, has a bright prospect for forest and agro-based industries when its locally available resources are explored.

At present both cottage and organised industries are equally encouraged in this area and those are discussed below.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Weaving

Almost in every household in the village, weaving is still carried on. Weaving devolves on women who also shoulder other domestic responsibilities. The tradition of weaving is handed down from mother to daughter. Even in the towns, weaving is still found to be a household industry among Nagas. There is a government managed Weaving Production Centre at Mokokchung.

The most important handloom products are wrapper, shawl, handbag, necktie, loin cloth, lace for dao-case etc. All these articles,

as in the case of other Naga tribes, are colourful. Every Naga tribe has got its own model of geometrical designs or design conception as peculiar to it. So also the Aos have their own designs and those are clearly discerned in each of the items of production. But nowadays due to the tendency of amalgamation of tribal cultures the designs are tending to be mixed up in the modern production.

The production of Naga costumes does not suffer adversely inspite of the coming in of mill-made clothes. Because, the Naga shawls and bags in different textures are highly valued, and have found great demand outside the State inspite of its high price. The price is high because of the laborious process involved in, and rather higher rate of profit.

Formerly they used to produce cotton and make yarn from it and dye it, but nowadays they purchase mill-made coloured yarn.

The Naga handloom belongs to a type known as Indonesian tension loom which "is a simple back strap one with a continuous horizontal warp consisting of six sticks serving the function of warp beam, lease rod, heald stick, beating sword and extrawarp beam"¹. This Naga loom is the same among all the tribes. Nagas have their own process of spinning also.

Weaving has also been modernised in the hand of professional weavers who produce shawls, skirts, bags, neckties, table cloths, bedcovers, curtains and handbags etc with modern designs. These articles have a great deal of demand outside the State.²

In olden days the people used to dye and still now to some extent they dye their own yarn. They have several techniques of dyeing. Dyes are prepared from indigo cultivated specially in their homestead gardens, and also from indiginous tubers, barks, or leaves and plants. Dyeing is generally done by boiling.³

1. Arts and Crafts of Nagaland, p-10.

2. Naga shawls and bags are dearer than the similar textile products from Manipur, probably because of the better texture and weave of the fabrics in Naga patterns.

3. In most cases, the indigo plants are pounded, and the pounded material is mixed into water thoroughly and allowed to remain in that condition for a few days. Then the extract is ready for dyeing. The articles to be dyed are immersed in the dyeing pot and boiled. The process may have to be repeated so that the colour becomes lasting enough.

Through this process the yarn, cloth or hair meant for dyeing, attain lasting colours. Variations in the process occur from place to place. Even the goat's hair or human hair dyed red, black or other colours are dyed in this way. These are used for decorating their weapons or resplendent parts of dress.

Painting of figurines on clothes is also practised but not frequently. Their shawls, waist cloths, skirts, and other varieties of cloths are inter-woven with stripes, figurines such as animal, geometrical motifs etc which have artistic and aesthetic significance. In the past, certain costumes like "Tsungkotepsu" (a shawl) could be worn only by warriors or those who had attained high and notable position in the society. But nowadays these clothes are used indiscriminately to the great dissatisfaction of the guardians of the society.

Though the mill-made fabrics and modern dress have attained popularity, yet weaving is still the main off-time occupation of the Naga women and is second perhaps to agriculture only. Every woman is expected to know weaving and they produce shawls, skirts and other kinds of clothes at least for the basic needs of the family if not for commercial purpose.

Bamboo and cane Works

BAMBOO and cane are two indispensable properties for the Aos and for the Nagas too, in general. It plays an important role in village economy and so it is much valued. Bamboo work is regarded as major item of Ao cottage industry. There is a kind of bamboo, *Dendroclamus Hamildoni*, which gives the best type of splints suitable for making baskets. In order to make a basket the bamboo is split into small pieces and the splints are smoothened into fine strands. Baskets of different sizes and shapes with various designs are made out of this fine strands. There are two kinds of bamboo baskets. One kind is used for storing purpose of different articles and is usually square or round in shape. This baskets are also of different sizes. This kind of basket serves as container of household goods, vegetables or foodstuffs etc. Some baskets are huge in size (about 2 metre high and 1 metre diameter) and are made of rough strands. These are used as containers for paddy or other crops. The other kind of basket is

conical in shape and serves many purposes. It is used for carrying packages, luggage, merchandise or paddy etc. Conical baskets are carried on the back and hanged from the head of the carrier by a sort of cane strap, bamboo strand or even some rope. Water containers (bamboo chungas) are also carried in the same way but the carrier-baskets are a bit different in shape and size. A kind of package basket with a lid (locally known as Japa), hexagonal in shape, is also carried in the same manner. The usefulness of bamboo is manifold ¹. Mat for drying paddy and other crops is also made of bamboo splints. Mat also serves as a bedding in some occasions. Winnowing fan, gasket, hat, shield etc are also made out of bamboo splints and strands.

CANE work is closely associated with bamboo works. Whatever can be made out of bamboo splints can also be made out of cane. But cane is not so abundant like bamboo. So, whatever may be the article, basket, hat or mat, if made of cane it is costlier than that made of bamboo. Cane crafts with engraved figurines on bowls, mugs etc and studded with black paintings have artistic value. Parts of ornamental dress such as fillets, legging, hats hat-frames, garnet etc woven of cane have similar artistic significance. Wicker work has shown signifying results in manufacture of ornamental patterns such as headbands, bangles, legguards etc. Other cane accessories are also used for fitting into grotesque ornamental dress and ornaments linked up with clothes, hair, skin and feathers etc. It is seen that wicker work rendered to mats, baskets and ornamental patterns entails a great measure of dexterity and skiful combination. Hewing, moulding and softening of slits ² and strands have to be combined to ensure satisfactory result of workmanship. Cane-strings and slender creeper plants are used for binding purpose and to make the goods serviceable and more durable.

Wood-Works and Wood-Carving

The people attach great importance to the usefulness of wood for its multifarious purposes. In house construction, poles, pillars,

1. Bamboo is also used in house construction and fencing. It serves as a weapon when rendered into spikes and traps for hunting games. Fishing implements are also made of it. Dried bamboo is burned as fuel and as torches at night. Even young bamboo shoot is not spared, for bamboo pickle is made of it and it renders curry delicious.
2. For softening the slits, it is dipped into water.

patterns, planks and cross-beams etc are made from trees. It is used for fencing and construction of bridges as well. Tree-trunks made into planks are used as walls for houses and for various furniture making, in recent times. Bamboo and wood are the two indispensable wealth for the people—the people live in houses mostly made of wooden materials, burn firewood as fuel, sleep on wooden planks and bury the dead in wooden coffin. Many household articles can be made out of wood. Exquisite wooden-dishes, saucers, platters, cups, smoking pipes, musical instruments and dao-holders etc to mention a few, exhibit their own fashion of splendid workmanship. A trough used for thrashing paddy is a hollowed trunk. A mortar or rice-pounding table in the shape of some sort of a big board with three or four holes scooped out, is also made out of wood. Small mortars have single holes.

Wood-carving is a heritage handed down from the bygone days to the present generation. The significance of wood-carving can be associated with head-hunting which was regarded as an honour for every man. The glory of headhunting in the past was to take a head of an enemy to one's village to prove one's bravery and secure warriors' rank in the village. Thereby, the person got entitled to certain privileges such as to wear warriors' shawl (Tsungkotepsu), decorate the house with figurines permitted to warriors only, and an active participation in the affairs of the village administration or the welfare of the village. Wood-carving of various figurines has their symbolic meaning glorifying the warriors who had cut enemy head, or rich man who had offered "Feast of Merit" to the villagers. Various figures that are carved out of the wood are mithun-head signifying wealth, hornbill representing valour, human figure denoting success in head-hunting, and the elephant and tiger signifying physical prowess. These figures are carved out on the long wooden trunks or thick planks and are seen in the village gate, in the morung or in front of the house of a rich man or warrior.

The log-drum or xylophone, rendered from a trunk of a big tree, is scooped out hollow by clubs and shaped in the ends in animal form. It is an amazing feat as to how the xylophone, of such a big size, is scooped out into a beautiful specimen of wood-work. The workmanship of the people is wonderful whose simple and ordinary working instruments namely the dao, the axe

and the chisel worked upon it and then they dragged it miles up the difficult mountain terrain ¹ to the village.

By wood-carving the people make tobacco pipes, dao-holders, dolls etc and they are sometimes coloured. Spearshafts are also made of wood. Different figures are also engraved on the posts and pillars of the houses as decoration.

With the improvised tools, people do the carving. The dao does all the service of splitting and shaping the log. The axe, adze and chisel are also used. The techniques of processing are many. Colouring and painting representing their fine arts also entail a special dexterity. Wood-carving of the Ao people has more artistic than economic value.

Blacksmithy

Of all the crafts blacksmithy appears to be of recent origin. It is probably introduced as a result of constant intercourse of the Aos with other people. These people are dependant on agriculture, and tools and implements being of imperative need for cultivation, smiths are found among all the Naga tribes though there are none in some villages. The smiths produce the normal requirements of the village and seldom produce in excess for sale to other villages. This is so because the smiths combine cultivation as occupation with this craft. At the forges agricultural tools and implements like dao, axe, sickle, scraper, hoe etc are made. They also produce spear-heads, butts, and bracelets, head rings etc for women. The smiths work with the rusted and second hand iron scraps which are put to some process of heating and refining. Then it is put on the anvil, ² and is hammered rapidly for several times into the desired shape

The bellow used by Ao smiths is made of a single wooden cylinder made of a hollowed section of the trunk of a tree placed horizontally. The piston is also single and ordinary one rendered of bamboo, covered with feathers arranged tip downwards to give the

1. Most of the villages are situated on the hill-tops for fear of attack from the enemy, because in olden times there was incessant fear of warfare, and head-hunting was prevalent everywhere. Obviously people had to settle in places where there was natural safety from the enemy attack.
2. Formerly often the smiths used a large piece of hard stone as anvil.

necessary valvular force into the two bamboo cylinders which are fitted at the side of the bellow. The bamboo cylinders serve as an outlet pipe to the furnace. When the piston is pulled out the fire is continuously blown. In this way the smiths carry on their work. Nowadays some innovations have been introduced. With the new technique, smiths have substituted piston bellows by a spring below to augment and ensure continuous flow of heat.

Pottery

It is an important age-old industry and is still in vogue in a few villages. Changki is the most noted village in this industry. It is true that aluminium and brass wares and metal pots have substituted the use of earthen pots but still then the locally made earthen wares are somehow used side by side, for the fact that the people find a better taste of food cooked in earthen pot.

In the process of pot making, lumps of clay dug up are first dried in the sunshine for a few days until it becomes a bit hard. Then the clay is moistened by water. The work is done by the skilled persons, especially in the process of moulding. After moulding the lump into the desired and final shape it is burned in the fire. Finally, the good pots are sorted out after the required burning while the coarse ones which crack in the process are separated. Pot making is done by skilled hands with few simple tools.

Pottery is a woman's work as wicker and basket work is for man. Clay unearthed near the spring or rill is better suited for making pots. Some pots bear beautifully engraved figurines against the surface in geometrical designs for which certain appliances of wood, sticks, leaves or mushrooms are used. Pots are used not only for cooking purpose but also as containers of valuable household goods.

ORGANISED INDUSTRIES

Nagaland is a small State and Mokokchung is one of its seven districts, and therefore the report regarding Industries of Nagaland, as found in the Revised Annual Plan for 1967-68, applies to Mokokchung also and hence a portion of the report is quoted below.

“The economy of Nagaland is virtually based on agriculture. At present there is no major or medium sized industry. Weaving and some other handicrafts are practised mostly for domestic and local consumption rather than for any commercial purpose. Some Small-Scale Industries like shoe making, tailoring, furniture making, printing press, saw mills, rice mills etc have sprung up, but their contribution to the economic growth of the State is negligible. The hills and dales of Nagaland afford ample scope for development of forest based Industries. Nagaland for all practical purposes, had missed the first three major five year plans particularly in the field of Industrial development due to the peculiar law and order situation in the State. Besides, no proper survey to assess the availability of resources for industrial development could be conducted. Another handicap was the lack of proper organisation and technical know-how. Recently the National Council of Applied Economics of India and the Central Government's Small Scale Industries Organisation of India had undertaken detailed surveys in the State. Their reports have revealed valuable information regarding potentialities and resources for development of various large and small scale industries”.

There is dearth of organised industries in the district since the days of the British Government. A few of the mission schools which existed in the district, besides paying attention to the prescribed curriculum also sought to impart training in gardening, cultivation, carpentry for boys, and knitting and sewing for girls. But this curricular industrial training could not thrive because there was no prospect on the part of passed out trainees to undertake business organisation. The poor means of communications coupled with the other factors such as village individuality were also serious drawbacks.

A few important steps have been taken during the time of the Interim Body Government of Nagaland to implement industrial planning in the district. But owing to some initial difficulties no much progress was made in this respect, although certain schemes in respect of industrial training were adopted.

Before the inception of Directorate of Industries in 1968, efforts were made to boost industrial training at the weaving Training-cum Production Centre in Mokokchung but not much

progress was made. Since it was reorganised in 1964, the centre had produced 40 trainees until December 1966.

Further, Mulberry Farming has been introduced in many villages of the district. One important development in this connection was the elevation of Sericultural Centre of Mokokchung into a fullfledged Sericulture Farm which has produced a few trainees also for this field. Small Sericulture Demonstration Farms have been set up at Kubulong and Mangkolemba also. An emporium at Mokokchung is displaying, and transacting sales of selected crafts and woven goods.

It is expected that the opening of the State Emporium at New Delhi would give further incentive for circulation and popularisation of the art and crafts of the State and so also of the district.

Industrial exhibitions are being held on special and important occasions for giving incentives to the people.

In August 1969 some 49 industrial loans for old Mokokchung district were granted to entrepreneurs for running small-scale industries in the private sector.

Besides, Co-operatives are taking up industrial undertaking with credit facilities extended by Co-operative Banks as per the directives from the Reserve Bank of India when such licences are issued.

The Government have at the same time been encouraging distribution of yarns to local weavers at subsidized rates varying between 25 to 50 percent ¹ as follows :

1. For weavers in the Urban Areas (towns) at the cost price, excluding transportation and handling charges within the State.
2. For Rural Areas at the rate of 25% subsidy rate.
3. For the interior areas at 50% subsidy rate.

The allotment of yarns during 1964-66 for Mokokchung District ² was 1,596 bundles. This is done to accelerate production in weaving by the weavers.

1. Official Report of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly October, 1966, P-89.

2. The then Mokokchung district consisted of present Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto districts.

People of this district, like others, get stipends to get training in electrical, mechanical and civil engineering etc in Polytechnic Institute at Atoizu in Zunheboto district and Industrial Training Institute at Kohima. Training facilities are also available locally in sericulture and bee keeping through demonstrations provided by the Government. Students in almost every School learn carpentry, blacksmithy etc through the instructors. Girls also learn knitting, sewing and weaving in Schools.

Small Scale Industries

A number of small scale industries have emerged in the private sector such as serifarming, beekeeping, tailoring, basketry, knitting, carpentry, handicrafts, printing press, shoe making, hand-looms, wooden furniture making, and motor workshops etc. Another notable industry that has grown up is citronella industry. The plant for this industry is named Economic Plant and is situated in Mongsenyimti village. In this industry, oil is extracted from the citronella grass and out of wastes writing slates are also being made. The citronella grass is grown in several villages. For the distillation of the citronella oil a distillation shed with boiler is also being set up at Yaongyimsen village, in collaboration with R.R.I. Jorhat. The Directorate of Industries of the State is organising several other industries in this district on the basis of indigeneous resources, potentialities, needs of the people and consumers interests.

Utilisation of Animal Wastes

Most of the population in Nagaland being meat eaters there are lots of animal waste of bones and hoofs after the meat portion have been consumed. Currently, the practice is to throw them into the open or in the forest areas without any utilization except by their naturally decaying process. It is estimated that fairly large quantity of it may be turned in to fertilizer by crushing them into bone-meal, and it is well within the reach of economic viability. The use of the bone meal thus obtained will be most welcome to the local people for raising better agricultural crops.

Similarly, it is felt that fairly good quantities of undecomposed animal hoofs can be made available in selected areas for extraction and refining of lubricating oil which is so much needed to lubricate

fine machines, precision and horological instruments. A survey for ensuring collection of animal wastes was undertaken, but nothing much has been done.

Pulp & Paper Mill

Medium sized industries had not been started before the inauguration of the State. The State Government in 1965-66 planned to establish some modern industries to accelerate industrial development of this area. Apart from a Sugar Mill which is located at Dimapur in Kohima District, the Government worked out a scheme for a Pulp & Paper Mill to be located at Tuli in Mokokchung District.

The initial step in this respect was the constitution of a Feasibility Study Team for the establishment of such a Mill. A paper consultant was engaged to conduct the study on local materials. A Pre-Investment Survey shows that local materials are suitable for the manufacture of paper, fibre and hardboards.

In 1968, it was reported to the Legislative Assembly¹ that the Planning Commission decided to take up this project during the Fourth Five Year Plan in the State Sector at an estimated capacity of 300 tonnes daily. Following its decision pilot test trials started but the progress in this respect was slow because of the time factor involved in laboratorial experiments. The Pilot plant test trials were conducted at Paris. In March 1969, it was made known that the local raw materials were found suitable for the purpose. This was done on the basis of the report on cellulosic raw materials tendered by the State Department of Forest.

It was in 1970 that the Union Government announced its decision to establish the Paper Pulp Plant at Tuli with a production capacity of 300 tonnes daily. Later the capacity has been increased to one thousand tonnes per day. It will produce both pulp and paper, the latter being more in quantity. The Hindustan Paper Corporation has taken up preliminary works jointly with the Government of Nagaland. Not only clearing sites and construction of residential buildings have been completed but the main construction

1. Official Report of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, October, 1969.
P-69,

for the mill has also been done. This Tuli Paper Mill is a 62 crore project and is expected to be commissioned by the end of 1979 and production will begin from that time. Raw materials to be used in the plant will consist of 50 percent bamboo and 50 percent reed.

The mill is expected to produce writing, printing and graph paper. Most of the machines, designed in the U.S.A., have already reached the site. This project, the biggest industrial unit in the whole of North-Eastern Region of the country, will provide employment opportunities to about two thousand people.

Industrial development in the district has taken a rapid stride. With better road communication, supply of locally available raw materials and favourable climate, this area has a bright prospect of industries which will benefit not only this district but the neighbouring districts too.



CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

BANKING AND FINANCE

Historical Aspect

The people of this district, that is the Aos, like other Nagas, remained outside the influence of modern civilisation for long, and only towards the end of 19th century they came in closer contact with the plains and the modern administration under the British Government.

The people of this area were more or less self-sufficient in respect of food and the minimum of clothing to which they were accustomed. Their needs were very few and it was limited within the bare necessity of food and bare clothing. These they could produce by themselves and were satisfied with it. Their next needs were salt and iron implements for agriculture and these they used to get from the plains. Since there was no good circulation of money at that time, their transaction, even with plains people use to be carried mainly on barter.

Barter System

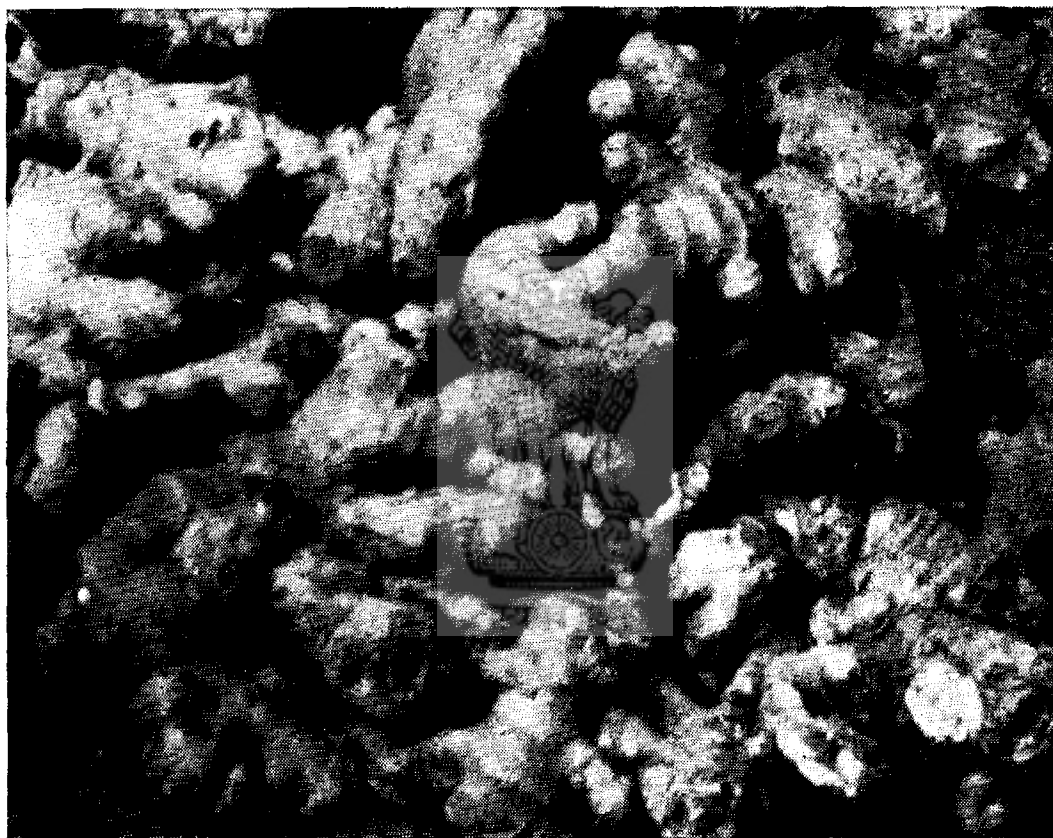
Prior to the coming of the British administration barter system prevailed among the Ao people as well as other Naga tribes. Merchandise comprising salt which is a must and without which curry cannot be tasteful, dried fish, agricultural implements, thread, ornaments, cattle etc were interchanged in the village or between villages. Barter as a medium of trade, so far accuracy of price is concerned, is not perfect. Yet, the people somehow set a reasonable rate for the particular commodity according to its utility, and bartered the articles. Trade was also carried out with a kind of coin of which there are two types. One is a round brass disc, about twelve inches (30 cm) in diameter with a slightly convex surface. It is known as 'laya'. These discs were

used for trade with other tribes like Konyak, Chang and Phom but not among the Aos themselves. The other currency, known as 'Chapili', is in the form of strips of iron about six or seven inches long. One Chapili represented a day's work or 4 annas of the old British India currency even in the first decade of this century. They no longer have any value as currency but are kept in the Museum¹ as specimen of the bygone days.

General Credit Facilities

Generally the people are self sufficient in respect of cereals and essential commodities. Paddy obtained from a season's cultivation is sufficient for the following year and the succeeding year also if the harvest is good. However, harvest is not always good every year due to various natural causes. Sometime certain unfortunate happenings in the family like death of a working member, cause poor harvest. Among the people there are usually some poor ones who do not produce sufficient quantity of paddy even for their family consumption. Therefore, such people borrow paddy from the rich people which is lent out to them in terms of baskets. If a person borrows one basket of paddy he is to pay two baskets in the next year. If the principal is repaid, the interest however big it may be, may stay unpaid and it will remain the same as it was at the time of paying the principal. But if the principal is not paid in the next year then the whole outstanding sum redoubles for two years at 100 percent compound interest and then the interest ceases to accrue. Every creditor therefore, wisely pays off the principal if one is not too hopelessly poor. It has been told that in times of general scarcity or crop failure people from one village used to go to another to buy paddy from the rich men who generally obliged by selling it. In this way the villages used to help each other in times of scarcity. In recent times the rate of interest has undergone a change due to influence of Christianity. Some people take moderate interest and some people do not take at all. It is only to the businessmen and contractors that the rate of interest charged is high, because their profit from the money is quite high.

1. The State Museum, located at Kohima has collected a good number of ancient articles such as chapili, different types of daos and spears, agricultural implements, etc.



Mokokchung district grows plenty of ginger



Mokokchung district grows plenty of potato

Indigenous Banking System

There was no true banking system among this people. Trade was carried on barter basis and so there was hardly any need for money. Even after the introduction of currency also it was not found necessary by the people to deposit their money and get interest there on, since they were not accustomed to it. Of course there were and are persons who used to lend money. This indigenous money lenders charge interest at the rate of 5% to 10% per month. Generally contractors and businessmen do not mind paying even 10% interest per month or even more because they earn tremendous profit from their business. Nowadays money is also borrowed from church fund without any interest. Generally most of the people lend and borrow money from one another without interest, on domestic need.

Modern Banking System

There was no bank in the district before 1969. In conformity with the prescribed rules and regulations the District Treasury at Mokokchung carried on the Government transaction. Then on 14 July, 1969, a branch of the State Bank of India was opened at Mokokchung. Transaction of Government money is now done by this branch of the State Bank. As a bank it extends the facilities of credit and deposit to the public also. However, credit is not given without sufficient security.

It may be noted that the villagers and even some urban people prefer keeping cash with them than keeping in banks. They are yet to develop banking habits.

Another Bank opened up in March 1968. It is Nagaland State Co-operative Bank which has its head office at Dimapur. Details of this bank are given in the Appendix.

Trade And Commerce

In olden time the AOs carried out trade on barter system with the neighbouring tribes as well as with the plainsmen. The people took down their produce such as betel leaves, mustard, raw cotton, mats, bamboo crafts, agar wood, chilli, ginger etc to the plains, and used to get in exchange their needs which comprise

of salt, dried fish, cattle, agricultural implements, beads etc. Trade flourished between the Aos and the people of Assam due to the reciprocal demand of these commodities which were obtained from each other in exchange, on barter basis. Trade on barter system existed between the villages also. In fact, each village generally produced woven goods, implements, crafts and household furniture etc to meet their domestic needs. But certain villages specialised in crafts and manufactures such as agricultural implements, weapons, earthen wares etc. Surplus of these produce is sold to other villages which, either could not produce similar manufacturers, or were in short of their requirements. Inter-village trade thus existed as long as the villages were at peace with each other.

Trading with the Konyaks and Phoms consisted of exporting shawls, cattle, salt etc for their indigenous spears and daos. After coming up of British administration and due to the influence of civilization the needs of the people increased and the volume of trade also increased.

Supply Line

The district being adjacent to the plains and having good road communication enjoys better supply facilities than the neighbouring districts in the east. Mokokchung town is the trade centre of the district. Commodities from Jorhat, the biggest town of upper Assam, are brought straight to Mokokchung wherefrom the shops in the villages get their supply.

Export-Import

In olden times people of this area used to export betel leaves, cotton, ginger, chilli, mustard, agar-wood, bamboo crafts etc. These items were exchanged for their needs namely salt, dried fish, iron implements etc. But nowadays all sorts of their requirements are available to them in the local market and so the villagers do not produce it for domestic consumption but for sale only, if they at all produce any.

Articles of Import

All sorts of articles required for modern living are imported by the people. It includes mill-made clothes, footwear, cosmetics,

foodstuffs, groceries and condiments, all sorts of cooking pots, watches, torchlight, textbooks and stationery, agricultural implements, mechanical and electrical goods, building materials such as CGI sheets, cement, sand, paints, etc etc, hospital equipments, sanitary materials, luxury goods, and all other modern necessities.

Business Organisation

Business Organisation of this district may be broadly classified into four categories : Contract works under the P.W.D; supply works of P.W.D. and other departments ; supply of various materials ; and shop keeping. Most of the contractors are local people but the rest of the business are in the hands of non-locals, mainly Marwaris and Biharis, who also run shops in the important places of the district.

Trade Centre

Mokokchung, the district headquarter, is the most important business centre. It is situated where the roads leading to Tuensang and Zunheboto, the headquarters of the respective districts, converge. Consumable goods and foodstuffs of all sorts are available here. There are a few important townships which serve as business centre. They are Changtongya, Chuchuyimlang, Tuli, Merangkong etc.

Government Organisations

The people of this district produce some agricultural crops and vegetables which are sold in the local market. But supply from this end is very meagre. So it has become a duty of the Government to supply the foodstuff to its employees. The Government has got a Civil Supply Department which supplies rice, atta, sugar, tealeaf, salt etc. These articles are sold to the employees and important public. A detailed account of the Civil Supply Department for 5 years is given in the appendix.

Markets

There is an organised daily market in the heart of Mokokchung town. Locally produced fresh vegetables like mustard leaf, squash, potato, beans, pumpkin, kachhu, chilli etc, and other crops and fruits are available in this market. These are brought by the neighbouring villagers. But for chicken as well as fish (both dry and fresh)

people depend on the supply from Jorhat (an important commercial town in Assam). Consumption of meat is quite high in this area, and so cattle and pigs are also brought from Assam to meet the local requirements. Supply of vegetables also come from Jorhat.

Weights and Measures

In olden time the people had their own way of weights and measures of bismar type. The weighing tray or basket, round in shape, is made of bamboo strands and the beam is made of light wood. The bismar measures a seer when the beam falls in a straight measuring line and it is considered accurate. The standard of weighing and measuring varies from village to village but each village had a standard bismar. In the past it was kept in the Puti Unger's house.

The standard of a bismar was one Songti—a weight of about eight pounds. One Songti is sub-divided into ¹

one powakapba	(C) : Terama	(M) = half a Songti
one tsumagono	(C) : powaratang	(M) = a third of a Songti
one terolung	(C) : changkolung	(M) = a quarter of a Songti
one terolungratang	(C) : changkolung- chatang	(M) = an eighth of a Songti.

Linear Measurement

Distance used to be measured in terms of consumption of smoke pipes. A pipe full of tobacco covered a distance of about five or six miles. Normally the distance was counted as 'one pipe' or 'two pipes' etc according to the distance. Shorter lengths were measured by the length of the outstretched arms, fingers etc. (one outstretched arm = am ka in Chungli language).

Later, during British administration the weights and measures of Assam were introduced in this area, but practically it had no effect on the transaction of articles in the villages. Of course people had to follow the rule while selling to or purchasing anything from the plains or from other tribes whose standards were different. That time the weights were in term of Seer and the linear measurement was in term of foot and yard, and the distance in term of a mile and furlong.

1. Mills J. P. The Ao Nagas P 397. The abbreviation, C stands for Chungli language and M stands for Mongsen language.

It was only from October 1968 that Nagaland Weights and Measures (Enforcement) Act introduced the metric system in the State ¹. Following this Act nowadays, officially everywhere the metric system has come into force, but the introduction is not yet complete. Still now, not only in the villages, but even in the town, the people do not use the terms kilometre, litre, metre, gram etc, but people use the term seer for a kilogram and for a kilo litre, and poa for one-fourth of it. In case of distance 'mile' still continues to be in use.

There is a Department of Weights and Measures under an Assistant Controller in Mokokchung and he supervises and checks the weights and measures through the Inspector and other staff.

Co-operative Movement

Co-operative is an all-India movement and so it had its impact also in Naga Hills when it was under Assam. But soon after its formation into Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) the movement gathered momentum in 1960 when the department of Co-operative was opened in NHTA. Since then it has steadily grown up and at present it has become an economic force.

In this district several types of co-operative organisation have grown up such as Marketing, Consumer's Wholesale, Industrial, Service, Farming, Dairy and Multi-purpose.

As in the rest of India, in this district also people have understood the value of co-operative activities and therefore, whenever any co-operative organisation is started there does not arise any difficulty to sell the shares.

Details of the co-operative societies of this district are given hereunder :

1. Official Report of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly March, 1969 p. 136.

LIST OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT AS ON 4-6-76.

Sl No.	Name of Society with full address	Reg. No. & date	No. of members	Type of Society	Functioning or otherwise	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Ao Trading Coop. Society Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	No. 27/55 dtd. 8-1-55	595	Cons.	Functioning	
2.	Multipurpose Coop. Society Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NA/024 dtd. 20-7-62	18	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
3.	Mongsenyimti Multipurpose Co- op. Society Ltd. Mongsenyimti P.O. Mokokchung.	NA/028 dtd. 12-9-62	22	M.P.C.S.		Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
4.	Merangkong Village Service Coop. Society Ltd. Merangkong P.O. Merangkong.	NL/050 dtd. 17-9-63	20	Service	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
5.	Sumi Melumi Cattle Dairy Coop. Society Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/073 dtd. 19-1-65	21	Dairy	Functioning	
6.	Minkong MPCs Ltd. Sungratsu Village P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/087 dtd. 3-9-65	22	MPCS	Functioning	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Sangtamkiyong Women MPCs Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/092 dt. 16-12-65	12	MPCS	Functioning	
8.	Mokokchung District Wholesale Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Mokokchung, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0107 dt. 25-2-66	—	Wholesales	Functioning	
9.	Ostlan Multipurpose Coop. Society Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0113 dt. 4-8-66	21	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
10.	Meyongpen M.P.C.S. Ltd. Longsa Village, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0114 dt. 1-9-66	44	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
11.	Molutobia MPCs Ltd. Mepongchukit, BPO Impur, Via-Mokokchung.	NL/10157 dt. 3-3-67	37	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
12.	Saso MPCs Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0159 dt. 23-3-67	48	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
13.	Mongoya Consumers Coop. Society Ltd., Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0170 dt. 10-7-67	21	Consumers	Functioning	
14.	Longmenden Service Coop. Society Ltd., Longsa B.P.O. Longsa, P.O. Mokokchung	NL/0192 dt. 18-11-67	26	Service	Functioning	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Mangkulemba Consumers Coop Society Ltd., Mangkulemba B.P.O. Mongkulemba.	NL/0194 Dt. 8-12-67	26	Consumers	Functioning	
16.	Longmisa Service Coop. Society Ltd., Longmisa Village P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0195 dt. 8-12-67	34	Service	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
17.	New Litami Multipurpose Coop. Society Ltd., Litami Village P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0200 dt. 1-2-68	31	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
18.	Akhoia Service Coop. Society Ltd. Akhoia, P.O. Chantongya	NL/0227 dt. 18-9-69	38	Service	Functioning	
19.	Reong M.P.C.S. Ltd. Kinunger, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0241 dt. 30-5-69	25	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
20.	Mangmentong Service Coop. Society Ltd., Mangmentong, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0249 dt. 7-10-69	55	Service	Functioning	
21.	Alongmen MPCs Ltd. P.O. Mokokchung	NL/0251 dt. 20-12-69	73	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
22	Merangkong MPCs Ltd. Merangkong, P.O. Merangkong.	NL/0254 dt. 25-1-70	44	MPCS	Functioning	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Walling Farming Coop. Society Ltd. Khensa, P.O. Ongpangkong,	NL/0283 dt. 4-12-70	35	Farming	Functioning	
24.	Pioneer Ex-Servicemen Farming Coop. Society Ltd., Changki Vill. P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0287 dt. 10-2-71	30	Farming	Functioning	
25.	Aongzo MPCs Ltd., Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0321 dt. 27-4-72	36	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
26.	Tsumeruk MPCs Ltd., Changdong P.O. Nakachari.	NL/0345 dt. 25-7-72	30	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
27.	Akhoia Cons. Coop. Society Ltd. Akhoia Vill. P.O. Changtongya.	NL/0365 dt. 28-11-72	33	Consumers	Functioning	
28.	Melongjok Coop. Joint Farming Society Ltd., Lirnen, B.P.O. Nakachari, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0372 dt. 10-1-73	30	Farming	Functioning	
29.	Amoklushi MPCs Ltd. Chuchuyim bang, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0373 dt. 25-1-73	33	M.P.C.S.	Functioning	
30.	Khari Village Service Coop. Society Ltd., Khari Village, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0385 dt. 26-4-73	26	Service	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Mongsenyimti Service Coop. Society Ltd., Mongsenyimti P.O. Chuchuyimlang.	NL/0394 dt. 28-7-73	68	Service	Functioning	
32.	Arrow Vests Industrial Coop. Society Ltd., Mokokchung, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0402 dt. 28-11-73	26	Industrial	Functioning	
33.	Longselong Dairy Farming Coop. Society Ltd., Longsa Village, B.P.O. Longsa Village, Mokokchung (Via).	NL/0406 dt. 13-12-73	45	Dairy	Functioning	Under revitalisation scheme 1974-75.
34.	Imsa Valley Coop. Collective Farming Society Ltd., Longsa, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0414 dt. 8-2-74	22	Farming	Functioning	
35.	Tzurlu Coop. Farming Society Ltd., Mongsenyimti, P.O. Chuchuyimlang.	NL/0418 dt. 14-3-74	29	Farming	Functioning	
36.	Paper Mill Employees Consumers Coop. Society Ltd., Tuli, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0424 dt. 28-3-74	28	Consumers	Functioning	New Society.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	Longrangtenem Coop. Collective Farming Ltd., Mopungchukit Village, B.P.O. & P.O. Impur.	NL/0427 dt. 10-4-74	25	Farming	Functioning	
38.	Alichen MPCs. Ltd., Alichen P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0434 dt. 15-7-74	30	MPCS	Functioning	
39.	Chakpa Farmers Service Coop. Society Ltd., Chakpa Village, P.O. Chuchuyimlang.	NL/0446 dt. 28-9-74	21	Service	Functioning	New Society.
40.	Topan MPCs Ltd. Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0454 dt. 22-1-75	36	MPCS	Functioning	New Society.
41.	Mokokchung Dist. Central Farmers Service Coop. Society Ltd, Mokokchung, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/468 dt. 8-2-75	36	C.F. Service	Functioning	Report not receive.
42.	Kichutip Cons. Coop. Society Ltd., F. 1 & 2 Mokokchung Town, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0472 dt. 26-2-75	32	Cons.	Functioning	New Society.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43.	Yimsenyong Cons. Coop. Society Ltd. Yimsenyong Town P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0473 dt. 13-3-75	31	Cons.	Functioning	New Society.
44.	Longmisa Women MPCPS Society Ltd., Longmisa Village, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0479 dt. 17-3-75	34	MPCS	Functioning	New Society.
45.	Mokokchung Village Farming Coop. Society Ltd., Mokokchung Vill., P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0480 dt. 19-3-75	51	Farming	Functioning	New Society.
46.	Mukili Village Service Coop. Society Ltd., Mukili Village, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0485 dt. 31-3-75	31	Service	Functioning	New Society.
47.	Delai Valley Coop. Joint Farming Society Ltd., Merinokpo Village B.P.O. Naganijan.	NL/0486 dt. 11-4-75	32	Farming	Functioning	New Society.
48.	Imrongtema Agri. Mkt. Coop. Society Ltd., Longsa Village B.P.O. Longsa via Mokokchung.	NL/0492 dt. 9-5-75	35	Mkt.	Functioning	New Society.
49.	Narongpong Coop. Joint Farming Society Ltd., Longmisa Village P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0494 dt. 12-5-75	25	Farming	Functioning	New Society.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	Lakhuni Village MPCs Ltd. Lakhuni P.O. Mangkelemba	NL/0495 dt. 12-5-75	40	MPCS	Functioning	New Society.
51.	Pongentenem MPCs Ltd., Sungratsu P.O. Impur.	NL/0496 dt. 15-5-75	41	MPCS	Functioning	New Society.
52.	Semra MPCs Ltd., Mokokchung P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0499 dt. 15-5-75	25	MPCS	Functioning	New Society.
53.	Yajang Service Coop. Society Ltd. Yajang Vill., P.O. Anguri T. E. Mokokchung.	NL/0514 dt. 23-1-76	30	Service	Functioning	New Society.
54.	Yaongyimsen Service Coop. Society Ltd., Yaongyimsen Village P.O. Changtongya,	NL/0515 dt. 23-1-76	25	Service	Functioning	New Society.
55.	Fazl Ali College Cons, Thrift & Credit Coop. Society Ltd., Mokokchung, P.O. Mokokchung.	NL/0516	45	T.C.	Functioning	New Society.

Source : Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Nagaland, Kohima.

APPENDIX—I

RECEIPT STATEMENT OF CPO'S COMMODITIES AT MOKOKCHUNG H.Q. FOR THE
PRECEDING FIVE YEARS COMMENCING FROM 1ST. APRIL '71 TO 15TH. FEB '76
AND SELLING RATES EFFECTED FROM TIME TO TIME²

COMMODITY	QTY. RECEIVED	SELLING RATES EFFECTED TIME TO TIME
A. RICE (MED.)		
1st April '71 to 31st March '72	= 4040'73'500 Gms.	(i) @ Rs. 1.65 Ps per kg effected upto Oct '71. (ii) @ Rs. 1.35 Ps per kg from 3-10-71. (iii) @ Rs. 1.45 Ps per kg effected from 14-5-73. (iv) @ Rs. 1.75 Ps per kg effected from 1-6-73. (v) @ Rs. 1.75 Ps per kg effected from 1-11-73. (vi) @ Rs. 1.80 Ps per kg effected from 11-1-75. (vii) @ Rs. 1.80 Ps per kg effected from 1-6-75 (viii) @ Rs. 1.85 Ps per kg effected from 1-7-75.
1st April '72 to 31st March '73	= 4956'30'000 "	
1st April '73 to 31st March '74	= 9461'12'500 "	
1st April '74 to 31st March '75	= 9262'89'500 "	
1st April '75 to 15th Feb '76	= 11,469 11'000 "	

B. FINE RICE

1st April '71 to March '72	NIL	(i) Rate per kg @ Rs. 2.00 Ps effected from 11-10-74.
1st April '72 to March '73	NIL	(ii) @ Rs. 2.10 per kg effected from 11-1-75.
1st April '73 to March '74	NIL	
1st April '74 to March '75	886'92'000 Gms.	
1st April '75 to Date	NIL	

C. MANIPURI RICE

1st April '71 to March '72

3018'94'500 "

Selling rate was Rs. 1.50 Ps
per kg.**D. I/SALT**

1st April '71 to March '72

773'06'000 "

(i) @ Rs. 0.22 Ps per kg was
effected upto May '71.

1st April '72 to March '73

704'96'500 "

(ii) @ Rs. 0.30 Ps per kg
effected from June '71.

1st April '73 to March '74

255'81'000 "

(iii) @ Rs. 0.65 Ps per kg
effected from 3-5-73.

1st April '74 to Date

NIL

(iv) Rate revised to Rs. 0.50 Ps
per kg from 7-5-73.(v) Rate re-revised @ Rs. 0.53 Ps
from 14-8-74.

1. CPO : Central Procurement Organisation.

2. Source : Assistant Director of Supply, Mokokchung.

APPENDIX—II

DETAILED STATEMENT ON SUGAR/C.G.I. SHEETS/WHEAT PRODUCTS/CEMENT/ETC.
RECEIVED DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS AND THE SELLING RATE ETC. W.E.F. 1975¹.

Name of the item	1971		1972		1973		1974		1975	
	Qty. Received	Selling Rate at MKG	Qty. Received	Selling Rate at MKG	Qty. Received	Selling Rate at MKG	Qty. Received	Selling Rate at MKG	Qty. Received	Selling Rate at MKG
CGI SHEET	Nil	Rs.	550 Bundles	Rs. 330.57 336.00 per Bundle	900 Bundles	Rs. 320.00 per Bundle	600 Bundles	Rs. 418.83 Rs. 531.45 Rs. 551.55	250 Bundles	Rs. 547.65 per Bundle
ATTA	2753 Bags	Rs.	980 Bags	Rs.	490 Bags	Rs. 1.10 Rs. 1.30	4550 Bags	Rs. 1.72 Rs. 1.94 Rs. 1.60	1337 Bags	Rs. 1.70 Rs. 1.65 Rs. 1.72 Rs. 1.94
MOIDA	2013 Bags	Rs.	2260 Bags	Rs.	2144 Bags	Rs. 1.30 Rs. 1.56	1010 Bags	Rs. 1.95 Rs. 2.00 Rs. 2.50	289 Bags	Rs. 2.45 Rs. 3.00 Rs. 1.95
SUJEE	202 Bags	Rs.	325 Bags	Rs.	114 Bags	Rs. 1.35	288 Bags	Rs. 1.97 Rs. 2.55	42 Bags	Rs. 2.50 Rs. 3.08 Rs. 1.97
SUGAR	Nil		6714 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.50 Rs. 2.32 Rs. 2.37	6400 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.85 Rs. 2.50	5524 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.45 Rs. 2.30 Rs. 2.46 Rs. 2.75	3870 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.32 Rs. 2.30 Rs. 2.50 Rs. 2.80
CEMENT	Nil	x	Nil	x	Nil	x	Nil	x	Nil	x

1. Source: Assistant Director of Supply, Mokokchung.



A view of Longkum village



Bus station, Mokochung, Buses ply from here to Amguri, Tuensang and Zunheboto.

APPENDIX—III

THE NAGALAND STATE CO-OPERATIVE BANK, BRANCH- MOKOKCHUNG¹

Amount in thousand

	68—69	69—70	70—71	71—72	72—73	73—74	74—75
1. Total Deposit	6.72	3.74	5.15	5.49	11.52	10.83	17.49
2. Total investment	1.18	1.27	1.72	3.82	3.26	7.12	8.66
3. Profit - Loss	-0.19	-0.34	-0.24	-0.08	—	-0.07	-0.08
4. Date of inception	March 1968						
5. Category of Bank	'B' Class						
6. Staff position	at present total staff is 14 'including' (IV grade staff) headed by Branch Managers, Accountant or Sub-Accountant & Others.						

(-Loss) (+Profit)

The Nagaland State Co-operative Bank, Head Office—Dimapur.
Branch—Mokokchung.

1. Source : The Nagaland State Co-operative Bank, Mokokchung.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Old Time Route

There was no proper road and communication before the advent of British administration. The only means of communication with adjacent mountainous tracts inhabited by other tribes was through tribal tracks and traditional paths largely used by traders, warriors, and messengers. But in a hazardous terrain journey no doubt tends to become difficult especially for visitors and new travellers in the land. But local travellers acquainted with the hazards of their difficult mountain terrain could perform such journey easily.

At the village outskirts, one can notice paths starting off the village and radiating into the fields and groves of the villages. These are the local routes. One reason why trade and commerce have not flourished largely is due perhaps to such topographical factors. But along the outer range on the western side of the district where there are important tracks connecting them with the adjacent Sibsagar plains, trade used to be carried on more actively. There has been an outreach of Naga population in a few small villages scattered in the plains. Such immigration took place in the far-off past being caused more by economic factor than any other reason.

At The Beginning Of Administration

Number of hill tracks were used by the British officials as Lt. Butler, McCabe, Porteous etc during their first exploration and expedition into the land. In course of time, military expeditions covered the hitherto unexplored regions through different routes to put down tribal internecine feuds. Before 1879, a bridle path from Samaguting (Chumukedima) to Wokha via Kohima was opened. Wokha was then the Sub-divisional headquarter. However, the most important commercial routes in the west were described to be Ungma-Molungyimsen and Lungkum-Amguri in 1880.

Modern Routes

Mokokchung District had no good roads before the Second World War. The only roads linking Mokokchung with other places were the Mokokchung-Amguri road and Mokokchung-Kohima road via Wokha. But after the Independence and more so in the 1950's road communication became very essential for transportation of goods as well as people and for the growing need of the traders. Great changes took place after the formation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957. Construction of roads and developmental work had been taken up. Mokokchung-Amguri road was given importance by widening it. New roads had also been constructed in many places. Tremendous developmental works were expedited after the formation of Nagaland as a State. Many new townships sprang up and it was necessary to construct roads to link up these places with motor roads which were rapidly constructed.

In 1969 the most important roads of the district such as Mokokchung-Tuensang road, and Mokokchung-Amguri road were declared to be State Highways.

Rapid means of transport and communication have considerably altered not only Mokokchung district but also the face of whole Nagaland. Not to speak of time factor saved for travellers, roads have helped substantially to build up an economy along the new lines and patterns. Roads have also helped to accelerate the implementation of economic planning for development in the rural area, as well as it has helped trade and commerce. Many villages, hitherto isolated, are within the reach of road in the district. Due to development of road communication and location of the places, Mokokchung and Tuli have become more and more commercially important. Public carriers and privately owned vehicles have been on the increase to cater to the growing needs of the people. Roadside traffic has also considerably enhanced the economic importance of such places where the roads pass, and centres where they converge.

At present Mokokchung, the headquarter of the district, is connected by roads with not only the important places but with almost all the villages in the district.

As in all hills, the roads in this district require constant attention. During the rainy season most roads are badly damaged by soil erosion. In consideration of this and other problems, the Government of Nagaland has adopted in its fourth Five Year Plan, certain programmes for the betterment of the means of communication which include (a) Improvement and modernisation of State and District Highways, (b) Opening of roads along those ranges not so far connected with roads.

State Transport Services

Bus Service was introduced in 1965, by the Nagaland State Transport authority. The first Transport Service bus plied on Amguri-Mokokchung road (102 k.m.) on 1st December 1965. Later the same Transport Service has been extended to Dimapur that is, Mokokchung to Dimapur, via Mariani. It is 207 kilometres.

In February, 1966, Transport bus service followed Mokokchung-Tuensang route (188 km) and Mokokchung-Zunheboto route (68 km). In March 1968, the State Transport bus service was extended upto Jorhat on Mokokchung-Jorhat route (Assam Road) via Amguri (139 km) under the reciprocal agreement with the State of Assam. Transport service in Tuensang and Zunheboto, for administrative convenience, is looked after by the Mokokchung Transport Office.

After the completion of border road from Mariani to Mokokchung it was declared State Highway and bus Service was opened in 1974. This is the most important road linking Mokokchung with Kohima via Dimapur. The distance from Mokokchung to Dimapur via Mariani is 207 kms.

The repairing and widening of road from Mokokchung to Kohima via Wokha has been completed. Regular bus service in this route has already been introduced by the State Transport Department. This benefits many travellers coming not only from Mokokchung area but from Tuensang and Mon areas as well, passing through Mokokchung. Moreover, since this is only 160 km from Mokokchung to Kohima via Wokha, it saves both money and time. Hitherto, the distance from Mokokchung to Kohima via Mariani and Dimapur was 281 km. It is very expensive

especially if one has to halt in Dimapur, which generally they are to do.

Goods Services

Besides nationalised passenger Services and private transport goods services, the Goods Services in between Amguri and Mokokchung (102 km) were introduced by Nagaland State Transport authority on the 1st August, 1966. Amguri-Tuensang road via Mokokchung (190 km) and Amguri-Zunheboto road via Mokokchung (106 km) were taken up on the 6th State Inauguration Day i.e. on 1st December, 1969.

Workshop Organisation

The existing improvised workshops in the State could not cope with the workload for vehicles plying on the unhospitable roads. Therefore in the face of such conditions, a Government workshop was proposed to be established at Mokokchung headed by an Assistant Mechanical Engineer under the over-all supervision of the Workshop Organisation of the State, and the workshop has been established in 1965-66.

Railways

The district has no direct railway connection. The approach railway stations for Mokokchung such as Mariani, and Amguri are located in Sibsagar plains in Assam. Mariani is a railway junction on North-east Frontier Railway line, but Amguri is a small station. At present railway out-agency is being constituted to be attached to Mokokchung Transport Station. Dimapur, the most important railway station for the State, is located in Kohima District and is quite far from the Stations mentioned above. But communications in the plains are not difficult as there are motor road links.

Recently the Survey of feasibility of extension of railway line from Amguri to Tuli by the North-east Frontier Railway has been approved by the North Eastern Council. The distance is about 20 kilometres and the estimated cost of the feasibility survey would be about Rs. 2 lakhs.

POST AND TELEGRAPH

Postal Services

At the beginning of the century, postal services had been functioning at Mokokchung only. Mails were brought from Sibsagar district past Mokokchung to Impur and from Kohima to Wokha. Dak runners brought the mails. In 1910, a Telegraph Office had also been functioning in the Mokokchung town.

Mail Services have now become quicker due to its being carried by motor bus. Mails from Mokokchung are delivered to the other Branch Post Offices outside the district. The District has at present 16 Post Offices ¹.

The Postal development in the District as well as in the State of Nagaland is schemed in a phased manner by the postal authority in coordination with the State Government, the State paying N. R. C. to the Postal Authority on pool basis. Prior to 1963, the postal set up of the District of Mokokchung was under the Jorhat Postal Division and thereafter it was placed under Manipur-Nagaland Postal Division with the Headquarter at Imphal. With a view to developing the postal activities rapidly, the State Government took up a scheme with the Government of India to establish an independent division to accelerate the means of progress in this under-developed State. Consequently the Nagaland Postal Division has been brought into existence with its Headquarter in Kohima in the month of October 1969, and Mokokchung District is within the jurisdiction and supervision of Nagaland Postal Division at present.

Tele-Communication

Till August, 1970, the whole of the Nagaland was under the administrative control of Dibrugarh Telegraphs Division in charge of a Division Engineer, Telegraphs.

Prior to 1946, S. D. O. (T) Jorhat was looking after the Tele-Communication system of the Naga Hills district. Later Nagaland had been under the bifurcating arrangement of both the Jorhat

1. Mokokchung District Census Handbook, 1971.

and Imphal Sub-Divisions, Mokokchung being placed under Jorhat and Kohima being under Imphal. Nagaland Telegraph Sub-Division was opened in 1969 and later it was converted into a Division and the tele-communication system of Mokokchung is under this Division which has got headquarter at Dimapur. It is going to have a Sub-Division at Mokokchung soon.

A Telephone Exchange has recently been instituted in the district. In 1964, Mokokchung headquarter had 15 private and 27 Government lines while in 1965, they increased to 70 and 30 respectively. It further increased to 75 private and 242 Government installation in 1974¹.

Travellers and Tourists Facilities

As early as 1905, there were only a few Inspection Bungalows located at places such as Mokokchung, Mongsenyimti, Changtongya, Merangkong and other stations. In addition there were a few rest houses and station bungalows. Such station rest houses were very small, and were hitherto used by the British Deputy Commissioners, the Sub-Divisional Officers and the District Heads of P. W. D and Public Health Service Department etc. Now owing to the increase of new administrative centres, Dak and Inspection Bungalows have increased in the District, and the Dak bungalow at Mokokchung town has been extended and converted into a Circuit House. And a tourist lodge is under construction now (Aug 1978).

Every administrative outpost such as Changtongya, Mongkolamba, Chuchuyimlang, Tuli, Kobulong, Longchem and Alongkima etc have got either a dak bungalow or rest house each. All these dak bungalows or rest houses are simply furnished and provided with electricity and water supply. The services of a cook and a chowkidar are also available in dak bungalows and that of a chowkidar only is available in the rest houses.

Apart from the dak bungalow and a Circuit house in Mokokchung town there are several hotels for food and lodging. Though these are not very-fine hotels yet it is tolerably good from the Indian point of standard.

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

APPENDIX—I

There are several kinds of roads in this district such as State Highway, Major District Road, Other District Road etc, and again they are surfaced and unsurfaced. Details of them are given below :

State Highway	—	Surfaced	—	235 Kilometres
		unsurfaced	—	Nil
Major District Road	—	Surfaced	—	Nil
		unsurfaced	—	63 Kilometres
Other District Road	—	Surfaced	—	20 „
		unsurfaced	—	73 „
Classified Village Road	—	Surfaced	—	6 „
		unsurfaced	—	238 „
Total road distance			—	635 Kilometres.

APPENDIX—II

Road distance from Mokokchung to some important places ¹

Mokokchung to Jorhat	via Mariani (in Assam) —	103 km.
„ „ Jorhat	via Anguri („) —	138 „
„ „ Kohima	via Wokha —	160 „
„ „ Dimapur	via Mariani —	207 „
„ „ Tuensang	via Longsa road —	188 „
„ „ Zunheboto	—	68 „
„ „ Wokha	—	80 „
„ „ Anguri	—	70 „
„ „ Changtongya	—	33 „
„ „ Tuli	—	68 „
„ „ Impur	—	17 „

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

APPENDIX—III

NAME OF POST OFFICES OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT ¹

1. Mokokchung town.
2. Lungkhum.
3. Mangmetong.
4. Longsa.
5. Ongpangkong Compound.
6. Sabangya Compound.
7. Chungtia.
8. Aliba.
9. Chuchuyimlang Compound.
10. Merangkong.
11. Changki.
12. Mopongchukit.
13. Lakhuni.
14. Alongdaki Compound.
15. Mangkulemba.
16. Changtongya Station.



1. Source : District Census Handbook, Mokokchung 1971.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATION

Occupation In General

The bulk of the people live in villages and agriculture preponderates over all other activities. It can be surmised that the entire rural population depends on cultivation for their livelihood. Everybody is a cultivator, both men and women and both children and olds. Formerly when there was no urban population, that is before the Second World War, the number of people working in government service and business was very negligible. It was only about two decades ago that people rushed in for employment other than cultivation. It was due to certain factors like increase in number of educated people and influx of the people to the town as a result of spread of civilization.

Cultivation is a dear profession to the entire rural population. Every morning people in batches are seen cheerfully proceeding towards the field. They take their morning meal by sunrise or little after that and then go to the field. Everyone carries a basket taking agricultural implements or their midday ration in it. While returning from the field they carry firewood in their baskets. Some women and children carry the babies on their back and keep them in the field-houses and they are looked after by grown up children. They work the whole day in the field and take their noon-day meal in field-house. Food is either taken prepared from home or is cooked in the field-house. As for tea, they usually boil it in the field-house, for which they keep kettle or utensils in the field-house. In the evening, mostly after sunset, they come back home, most of the women and young people carrying firewood or animal fodder in the basket on their backs.

Though all rural people are cultivators, there are some people who, besides cultivation, engage themselves in black-smithy, carpentry, masonry, timber and cane works etc as side occupation. Every village engages in these crafts and manufactures. Then they

weave clothes on a traditional pattern, sometimes with a little modification, for their needs and leave a little surplus for circulation to other villages which do not produce sufficiently for themselves. Nowadays some people produce it on a commercial scale also. Basket making is common to all the villagers and it is made not for sale but for household uses, such as carrying paddy, firewood, water containers, merchandise goods etc. Weaving is a monopoly of the women and they weave their own skirt (mekhala), loin cloth of the men, handbags and chadar for both the sexes etc. It is a disgrace for women not to know weaving. Formerly the people used to grow cotton and make yarn out of that, but nowadays yarn is mostly purchased from market. Pottery and ornamental production is also confined to women. However, pottery making is found only in a few villages.

In the past, man, besides helping female counterparts in agriculture and other works in crafts, worked as a militia to the village during fighting engagements with or invansion by an enemy. There was no such thing as division of the village militia between reserve and active. Everyone was an active and regular citizen. At a place where democracy was an accepted form of government, men participated in civil affairs directly or indirectly. Veterans provided incentives to young blood in this respect. In this way, human potentiality was exploited for defence work as well as public life. A basis for some sort of specialisation in those tradition based enterprise was laid down long before the advent of British administration. So at agricultural slack seasons one sees that the villages are full of activities for both traditional crafts and manufacturers, and modern trades.

There is only one town in the present Mokokchung district and it is Mokokchung town. It is inhabited by 17,423 ¹ people and many of them are floating people as they have come on service or business from outside. The local people living in the town are also in service or business. Of different kinds of jobs, employment in Government Offices, mainly under the State Government, is the most important one. Next come clerks, teachers, nurses, Do-Bhashis (Interpreters) and administrative officers etc. And of the various kinds of business, contract works under the

1. District Census Handbook, Mokokchung District, 1971.

Public works Department of the Government of Nagaland is the most important. Some people are also engaged in shopkeeping, supply works etc. There are also many people who are living on carpentry, masonry and daily-wage for their subsistence.

Formerly there was no unemployment problem at all because there was less educated people and even those educated ones did not hesitate to go back to the village for cultivation. But nowadays due to the swift acculturation the educated youths, even the school-left-outs are unwilling to go back to rural areas and take up cultivation, even on modern pattern of mechanised farming, or such other profession. So the problem of unemployment of educated youth is being felt gradually. It may be mentioned here that the Aos are the most educated of all the Naga tribes and they are most numerous in all the Government jobs of the Government of Nagaland, and many are working outside the State. Besides, there are more Ao contractors and businessmen than among other tribes. Yet, the problem of unemployment is looming large among them.

Category of Occupation

It may be said that 75% of the people are still living on cultivation as their occupation. Next to cultivation comes Government service and of all the Government services, the number of people working under Education Department in Primary, Middle and High Schools and Colleges, is the biggest. Even in 1971¹ there were 86 Primary Schools, 31 Middle English Schools, and 6 High Schools in the district. Besides there were 1 College 2 High Schools, 2 Middle English Schools and 13 Primary Schools in Mokokchung Town. These are all run and managed by Government. Thus including Mokokchung town there were 99 Primary Schools, 33 Middle English Schools, 8 High Schools and 1 College in 1971, all run and managed by the Government. This does not include many private institutions. The number of the educational institutions both Government and private has increased since the last census. In every village there is one or more Primary Schools which employ on the average six Government paid teachers each. Thus for 99 Primary Schools there are nearly 600 Government paid L. P. Teachers.

1. District Census Handbook, Mokokchung District, 1971.

Then in the 33 Middle English Schools (each School employs ten persons on the average) it comes to about 330 employees. Again there are 8 High Schools which employ 120 people, each employing 15 persons on the average. Then there is the College which employs about 35 persons. Thus in teaching profession about 1075 people are employed. This Statistics do not include those teachers who are working in the private Schools. Also some people are working in the office of the Deputy Inspector of Schools in Mokokchung, under Education Department.

Then come the employees of the Deputy Commissioner's establishment which is run not only in the District headquarter but also in the eight administrative circles of the district. There are clerks, Do-Bhashis, etc working in all the administrative circles either under Extra Assistant Commissioner, Circle Officer or Area Superintendent.

There are some other departments like Medical, Public Works Department, Agriculture, Electricity, Police etc where many people got employed. It may be mentioned that the number of nurses, dhais and compounders are more among the Aos, than among any other Naga tribe. They are scattered all over Nagaland and even in the State of Assam.

Many youths who could not pursue higher studies or are School-left-outs took to mechanical vocation and vehicle driving works. As for the educated women, they are competing men in every field equally.

Working Population

According to 1971 census the total population of this district is 82,852 of which 72,864 are schedul tribal, that is mostly Aos. The same census shows that there are 65,429 people living in the rural areas of this district, and 17,423 are living in Mokokchung town. Of this rural population, 28,195 are workers and 37,233 are non-workers. Of the total workers, 14,622 are male and 13,773 are female. Out of the total non-workers (37,233), 18,773 are male and 18,790 are female.

Details of workers, category and circle-wise are given in the appendix.

APPENDIX—1

CATEGORY-WISE AND CIRCLE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS OF
MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT AS PER 1971 CENSUS.

Sl. No.	Name of the circle	I			II			III			IV
		Cultivator			Agricultural Labourer			Working in Livestock Forestry, Fishing hunting, plantation and orchard etc.			
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	
1.	Ongpangkong	7,027	3,190	3,837	39	14	25	14	12	2	
2.	Chuchuyimlang	3,501	1,548	1,958	—	—	—	20	20	—	
3.	Tuli	2,205	1,030	1,171	12	10	2	21	21	—	
4.	Alongkima	2,816	1,318	1,498	1,301	524	677	9	9	—	
5.	Kabulong	3,139	1,441	1,698	1	1	—	29	29	—	
6.	Longchem	3,106	1,403	1,703	—	—	—	3	3	—	
7.	Mangkolemba	80	42	37	1	1	—	7	7	—	
8.	Changtongya	1,761	879	882	2	1	1	1	1	—	
Total—		26,635	10,860	12,776	1,356	651	705	103	101	2	

Contd. 2

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATION

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Sl. No.	Name of the Circle	V						IV						VII						VIII						IX					
		Manufacturing, Processing Servicing and repairs.						Working in Construction						Working in Trade and Commerce						Working in Transport, Storage and Communication						Working in Other Services					
		(a) Working at Household Industry			(b) Other than Household Industry																										
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1.	Ongpangkong	2	2	—	—	—	—	18	18	—	12	12	—	21	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	Chuchuyimlong	1	1	—	—	—	—	16	16	—	12	13	—	7	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3.	Tuli	7	7	—	16	16	—	26	23	2	11	10	1	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	Alongkima	16	16	—	5	5	—	15	15	—	8	7	1	20	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	Kabalong	4	4	—	10	10	—	17	17	—	17	13	4	9	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6.	Longchem	10	7	3	2	2	—	5	5	—	6	6	—	8	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.	Mangkolemba	12	12	—	—	—	—	18	18	—	8	8	—	7	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8.	Changtongya	2	2	—	3	3	—	19	19	—	22	22	—	22	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total—		54	51	3	41	41	—	133	131	2	97	91	6	103	102	1	2673	2394	279												

Contd. 3



Market place at Mokokchung.

X				
Sl. No.	Name of the circle	Non-Workers		
		P	M	F
1.	Onpangkong	10,642	5,211	5,431
2.	Chuchuyimlang	5,049	2,382	2,467
3.	Tuli	3,323	1,628	1,695
4.	Alongkima	7,057	3,401	3,656
5.	Kobulong	4,431	2,198	2,233
6.	Longchem	3,781	1,979	1,802
7.	Mongkulemba	321	142	179
8.	Changtongya	2,629	1,302	1,327
Total—		37,233	18,448	18,790
Total number of workers = 28,195				
Male = 14,622				
Female = 13,773				
Total number of non-workers = 37,233				
Male = 18,443				
Female = 18,790				

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC TRENDS

For centuries Nagaland, of which Mokokchung district is a part, remained in isolation from the rest of India. It was completely cut off from outside influence because of this seclusion and absence of civilisation in modern sense. After the advent of British administration the people of this area came in contact with the people of the plains and commercial trading started then. Formerly these people could not carry on trade for fear of enemy, as headhunting was prevalent in those days. The economic trend of this district thus got impetus by coming under administration as well as in contact with the outside world. Even then the mainstream of economic trend of the country as a whole did not affect this area or for that the then Naga Hills in general. That time the only means of livelihood of the people was agriculture and a few cottage industries for local consumption.

Economic transition started with the coming of British administration. But it was only during the First World War (1914-18) and Second World War (1939-45) that a tremendous transformation took place in the life of these people. They came in greater contact with the outer-world for the first time ¹ and their livelihood pattern got influenced and changed to some extent. The change was in respect of earning wage as labourer, interpreter, or guide. Thus it became a source of earning profit by supplying men and materials during the War. Cash rapidly increased as people earned more money during the War. That is the time when some people became comparatively rich. After the War people again took to their original pattern of livelihood but with a great impact and change that the people who came in contact with the outside world maintained the contact and took up business and contract works or some other occupation with great zeal and enthusiasm.

1. During the World War I AOs raised a Labour force of 200 strong men who even went to France and their experience in Europe was thrilling as well as educative.

A widespread transformation has taken place after the creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957 and later the creation of de-facto State of Nagaland in 1961. It opened up great opportunities to the people for participating in the developmental works of the State. The expansion of administration and establishment of developmental works, growth of communications, innovations in agricultural patterns, and many other factors have brought about a new economic trend in the State as well as the district. Other factors such as spread of education and rise in literacy also contributed to some extent. Agriculture is the main occupation constituting about 75% of the total population but it is undertaken side by side with other vocations such as handicrafts, carpentry; blacksmithy, weaving etc. New evolutionary trends such as population shifts to towns, and growth of new townships are also perceptible.

LIVELIHOOD PATTERN

There are many people who have entered into government service or contract works, business, supply works etc. These people live a better life than the cultivators. Yet, the vast majority of the people are still cultivators and cultivation is the main source of livelihood of the people. About 75% of the total population are cultivators. Even those who are gainfully employed in government service or engaged in business, cultivate the land though not for full time. They hire labourers on daily wage for the agricultural operations. Most of these people who are residing in towns and townships get a plot of land on hire. They cultivate it with much satisfaction not for the sake of profit, but to satisfy themselves of their enthusiasm and interest in having a cultivation of their own where they could produce some crops, and vegetables for home consumption. Firewood, which is costly in the townships is also supplied from the field. People of this class often go for hunting animals and birds, and fishing during off time.

The cultivators are fully engaged during cultivation time. But during agricultural slack season the village is full of activities in both community and individual works. There is community fishing and corporate hunting where everyone takes part. They also hold festivals where they rejoice to their heart's content in singing and dancing. Everyone engages himself in some house-hold industry such as

carpentry, smithy, handicrafts and weaving (for women) etc. Thus in everything it is primarily an agricultural economy and the people are earnestly devoted to land for their livelihood. According to 1971 census there are altogether 65,429 people living in this district excluding Mokokchung town. Of this population, 28,195 are working population of all the age groups together (break up-not available). That means about 43% of the populations are workers. Again of the total number of workers, 14,622 are male and 13,773 are female. So the approximate ratio of female working population with men is about 49.51. A chart is given in the appendix of the previous Chapter showing the number of workers working in different vocations.

Other industries having not grown excepting the Paper and Pulp Mill at Tuli which has been set up recently, most of the workers are land-based. They are either cultivators or land-labourers. Next come government service and business. Of the government service the highest employment is provided by the Education Department of the State, in the form of Primary, Middle and High School teachers and Lecturers in the College. It may be noted that even in 1971, according to 1971 census, about 1075 people were employed in the said institutions. That figure does not include those people working in private institutions. At present, that is 1977, the number is even more.


Price

Before the advent of British administration people of this district were practically isolated from the economic activities of the neighbouring areas namely Assam. There was no means of communication and it was a major obstacle to carry on trade with the people of the plains. Besides, people of this district being self-sufficient of their basic requirements did not bother about the need of establishing trade connection with outsiders. There was no local market also where they could dispose off their surplus produce.

However, it may be mentioned that the people were not totally isolated from trade activity with the plains people. They exchanged their surplus produce or purchased commodities for their requirements and it was transacted mainly on barter system side by side with a little more monetary price system. Their produce consisting of cotton, ginger, chilli, pan leaves etc was bartered for salt, dried

fish, blanket, tools and implement etc. Trading by barter system thus existed in the past days though not on a large scale. However, price statistics were not properly maintained as transactions were based on barter system.

After coming of the British administration more money was put into circulation and the old barter system ceased to prevail. Henceforth, articles sold or purchased were in terms of money. One anonymous English traveller has recorded the following price list as it was in the last part of the last century for a place in the then Naga Hills District which was then under Assam. This district being a part of it, the price level of Naga Hills District applies to it also.



1 Cow	:	Rs 6/- to Rs 10/-
1 Pig	:	Rs 3/-
1 Dog	:	4 annas
1 Chicken	:	2 annas
1 Shield	:	4 annas
1 Basket of paddy	:	Re 1/-
1 Piece of cloth	:	4 annas to one rupee
1 Spear	:	8 annas to Rs 3/-
2 to 4 seers of salt	:	Re 1/-

The economic condition of the people of this district indicates more or less self-sufficiency. There was no need for modern articles and the living was inexpensive except the growing demand for more imported goods for those people who had changed their living pattern as a result of conversion to Christianity. It may be noted that those people who became Christians gave up rice-beer (fermented rice juice) and substituted it by tea with milk and sugar. With the change of living pattern the need of money circulation became greater. People began to engage themselves in some trade besides cultivation. Many Aos became acquainted with petty business and trade by bringing into the village the day-to-day requirements of the people, like salt, wool, thread, medicine, dried fish etc. As a result of embarking on the kind of trade that is profitable, many people improved the standard of their living.

Since the First World War there is a growing price rise which affected this district also. It has further increased during

the Second World War and has gradually kept on upward trend. So, high price prevailed not only in this area but everywhere in India. Since the price of non-agricultural products soared up, the price of agricultural products also went up to keep pace with it thus saving agriculturists from economic distress.

The whole phase of economic activity speeded up after Nagaland became a full-fledged State in 1963. All round development and road-communication greatly encouraged business facilities and trade activities. This led to greater flow of all sorts of article from the plains of Assam to this district. Mokokchung town gradually became the centre of commercial activity. It has the advantage of being the trading centre for Tuensang and Zunheboto districts also. Inflow of business men to this town rapidly increased due to the immense scope for good profit. There was a price disparity which became more obvious as economic activity grew bigger. In order to check this price disparity and to curb profiteering, and also for ensuring that essential commodities like rice, sugar, kerosene, salt etc are available to consumers at fair price, Government keeps constant watch. To check the price line or to keep the price of consumable articles under control, the State Government has from time to time passed some orders. The most important ones of them are the following.

- 1) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Declaration of Stock) Order 1965.
- 2) The Nagaland Sugar (Dealers Licensing) Order 1966.
- 3) The Nagaland Oil Seeds and Oil (Price control and Licensing) Order 1966.
- 4) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Procurement and Distribution) Order 1966.
- 5) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Dealers Licensing) Order 1966.
- 6) The Nagaland Essential Articles (Fixation Marginal Profits) Order 1966.
- 7) The Nagaland Petroleum, Diesel and Kerosene Oil (Reserved Stocks) Order 1966.
- 8) The Nagaland (Finance Sales Tax) Act 1967.

Prices of commodities at Mokokchung market are a bit higher than in the plains of Assam. It is so because most of the articles come from Assam and the rate of profit of the businessmen is rather high.

However, the prices of different articles of daily needs as found in Mokokchung market in February 1977 are given below.

1. Rice, per kg = Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/-
2. Atta, per kg = Rs. 1.60 to Rs. 2/-
3. Ms Dal, per kg Rs. 3/- to Rs. 3.25
4. Mustard oil, per litre = Rs. 10.50 to Rs. 11/-
5. Salt, per kg 50 to 75 paise
6. Sugar, per kg = Rs. 5/- to Rs. 5.50
7. Tea leaf, per kg. (loose) = Rs. 16/- to Rs. 20/-
8. Egg, per pair = Rs. 1.20 to Rs. 1.50
9. Kerosen oil, per litre = Rs. 1.30 to Rs. 1.50
10. Fish :
 - Rahu and katla, per kg = Rs. 10/- to Rs. 14/-
 - Magur, per kg = Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/-
 - Oithers per kg = Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/-
11. Meat :
 - Fowl, live weight, per kg = Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/-
 - Beef, per kg = Rs. 2.50. to Rs. 3/-
 - Mutton, per kg = Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/-
 - Pork, per kg = Rs. 8/- to Rs. 9/-

The yearly average retail prices of the State as a whole, for 1970 to 1974, as quoted by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Nagaland, in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, are given next page.

**YEARLY AVERAGE RETAIL PRICE OF ESSENTIAL
COMMODITIES IN THE STATE ¹.**

Commodities	Unit	Yearly average for				
		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Rice	... Kg.	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.98	3.16
2. Atta	... „	1.35	1.53	1.48	1.81	2.43
3. Aarahar dal	... „	2.05	2.18	2.48	2.77	3.38
4. Masur dal	... „	1.30	2.06	2.50	2.58	3.08
5. Salt	... „	0.50	0.58	1.04	0.58	0.88
6. Chilli	... „	7.20	7.23	6.79	6.83	9.79
7. Haldi	... „	7.30	6.97	5.89	5.99	7.30
8. Jira	... „	7.50	7.17	6.80	7.88	13.11
9. Potato	... „	1.35	1.39	1.37	1.42	1.88
10. Onion	... „	1.30	1.26	1.37	1.47	1.93
11. Cabbage	... „	1.35	1.26	1.67	1.48	1.95
12. M. Oil	... Litre	5.85	6.41	6.23	7.62	11.35
13. Vanaspati	... Kg.	7.45	7.64	7.92	9.37	12.55
14. Fish	... „	7.20	6.89	7.54	8.43	10.07
15. Pork	... „	5.93	6.03	6.23	6.52	7.91
16. Beef	... „	2.55	2.31	2.43	2.63	3.04
17. Mutton	... „	7.45	7.65	7.73	7.42	8.30
18. Eggs	... Pair	0.75	0.72	0.75	0.86	0.98
19. Milk	... Litre	1.80	1.51	1.73	1.81	2.17
20. Sugar	... Kg.	2.35	3.73	3.62	3.98	4.47
21. Gur	... „	1.70	1.72	2.12	2.51	2.84
22. Tea leaf	... „	7.80	8.59	8.90	8.57	11.07
23. Kerosene	... Litre	1.05	1.02	1.01	1.09	1.67
24. Match	... Box	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.15

1. Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics as quoted in the Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

Wages

Wages and prices are correlative. Rise in the prices of essential commodities greatly affects wages. The general economic condition of the people and their standard of living also determine the wages of the labourer.

In the by-gone days villagers performed agricultural operation on reciprocal basis. So wage was non-existent. Even if there was some case of wage it was in the form of kind but not in cash. In the first decade of this century the average wage of a day labourer was four annas per day. Since the Second World War there has been sharp rise in the wage of labourers. More so, after Nagaland became full-fledged State in 1963 for its many developmental works like construction of roads and bridges, construction of house etc. Nowadays labourers earn cash wages only. At present (January 1977) the daily wage of an agricultural labourer varies from Rs 6/- to Rs 10/- depending on the skill of the labourer. The average daily wage of an unskilled labourer for breaking up stone chips or cutting the earth for house building is Rs 10/- per day. The wage for a skilled labourer ranges from Rs 15/- to Rs 20/- per day. Skilled labourer engaged in masonry, carpentry etc also gets Rs 15/- to Rs 20/- per day on the average. Any labourer engaged on a piece of work, such as road construction, on the basis of a contract with an agreed amount, earns as much as Rs 20/- to Rs 30/- per day on the average. Of all the works, working under contractors in Government's developmental work is more profitable for the labourers.

Standard Of Living

Mokokchung, the headquarter of Mokokchung district, is the only town. According to 1971 census the population of Mokokchung town is 17,423 and the population of the scheduled tribe there is 8,358. The entire scheduled tribe population of Mokokchung district is 72,864 out of the total population of 82,852. Therefore, about 12% only of the scheduled tribe population live in the urban area and the rest reside in rural area. The population may however, be classified into three categories according to the standard of living. The cultivators come in the first category, secondly cultivators who substitute their income by other sources, then lastly the businessmen and the government servants.

The cultivators entirely depend on cultivation for their livelihood and they constitute the majority of the population, probably about 75% of the total. They live in villages and lead a simple and poor life but not below poverty line. On the average an Ao family is generally self-sufficient of the basic requirements of food, clothing, housing, fuel and other needs. The entire population remains gainfully employed in productive activities. In fact there is none who cannot make both ends meet. There is no beggar nor any landless labourer and no surplus labourer either. These people live in the thatch houses; generally half of the room is plastered with mud on the ground where lies the oven for cooking purpose. There they sit round the oven, make fire and warm themselves. Then there is another room on an elevated platform of about 1 to 2 feet height and the floor is made of bamboo. The walls are also made of bamboo-mat. In every house there is a front porch where pounding table, firewood and other articles are kept. There is also an elevated bamboo platform attached to the house where people bask in the sunshine or sit round reminiscing over the past things or current events. Every village has community latrines at the outskirts of the village. In Ao village one finds the granaries also at the outskirts of the village, or a little away from their houses in order to save the paddy from any accidental fire that may break out any moment.

In the past, men used to dress in simple traditional loin cloth and coarse home woven chadar. But nowadays due to the advent of civilisation there is an overall change in every thing as a result of which even the cultivators now wear short, shirts and canvas shoes etc all purchased from the market. Women generally wear traditional mekhala (skirts), chadar and textile blouses. Young people and school going children wear modern clothes, such as shirts, shorts and trousers for boys, and shirts, trousers and skirts for girls. In their houses they keep some wooden boxes and benches. But they don't generally have any furniture. Of course some wooden seats to sit on are there in every household. In olden days people used to sleep on the big wooden planks or on bamboo mats. But nowadays those have been replaced by wooden bedsteads though of simple type. Ordinary farmers do not have sufficient clothes to wear, yet blankets are used by everyone though not quilts in general. Formerly their

cooking utensils were mostly earthen pots but it has been replaced by aluminium ones. Both aluminium dishes and wooden platters are used as dining plates. Their staple food is rice, as is for the entire population of Nagaland. Rice and curry are prepared separately in different pots and cooking is done simply by boiling with salt and chilli and occasionally ginger. They take plenty of meat especially beef and pork. Some people who are the poorest of this group, do not have sufficient paddy for the year and so they borrow from the rich people and it is paid back after the harvest with interest or sometimes without.

The second group are those who have got other sources of income besides cultivation. Their financial position or living is better than the first group. They generally live in the village itself but they carry on agriculture with small business or government job (like Primary School teacher, or Carpentry instructors etc) or some industry such as carpentry, smithy etc and weaving and knitting for women. They live in improved houses even if it is thatched roof with either bamboo-mat-wall or wooden-plank wall. Generally this group has tin-roofed houses. They have got separate sleeping room, bath room and latrine. They also have got furniture such as chairs, sitting stools, table, mora (cane-stool) and almirah in the house. They sleep on wooden bedstead and have got sufficient cloths to warm themselves at night. Men dress in both shorts and trousers, shirts, sweaters and even coats. Women too attire themselves in blouse and petticoat, shawl (chadar) and mekhala (skirt) of both traditional and modern types. They have aluminium utensils for cooking purpose. Cooking is done generally by boiling with salt and chilli but they sometimes do frying the curry with spices etc in modern manner.

Then there is the third group the people of which are in government service or business or are contractors. They have permanent source of income as in the case of the government servants, and the class I contractors and high class businessmen are equally secure of their income ¹. People of the third group live a much better and comfortable life compared to the other two groups. The Government servants live in the administrative headquarters or outposts

1. It may be mentioned that businessmen and contractors of second grade with less income and having no other source may be grouped not in the third but the second group of the three classified groups.

as the case may be according to their posting. And for the businessmen and contractors, they choose the places according to their preference and the prospective scope suitable for their business. Generally, they have got hill-type building with CGI sheet roof and plank walls. Many have built RCC building also with brick walls and RCC roof. In this district to construct an RCC building is a costly affair¹; yet many people have come up in recent years who could afford it. The houses have got all modern furniture and amenities. There is attached bath room and sanitary latrine. There are a few sleeping rooms for the family, a sitting room, a dining room and a separate room for guests. The kitchen is either close or attached to the house. Cooking utensils are aluminium and even stainless steel. They also use pressure cooker, gas stove etc.

Many of these people who have status in government service are well off and they can afford a car or more of their own, radio, and a stereo-player (radiograms) which adorn the drawing room of every such house. Most of these people have got a house or two or even more in their village, in their home town or Dimapur². They live far better, comparatively better than their counter-parts in the rest of India. These people have adopted themselves to western dress. Men wear trousers, shirt, sweater, jacket, coat etc and so also women whose costume varies from petticoat, skirt, blouse to traditional skirt (mekhala) shawl (chadar) etc.

Young people of both sexes are generally fashion-craze. They wear latest fashions, mod and shapely dress ranging from bellbottoms, parallel-bottoms to tight pants, maxi, mini, micro skirts etc. Many girls wear trousers also.

Average Monthly Expenditure

With the rapid developmental activities and higher standard of living, average consumption of the people in recent years has substantially undergone a change. Among all the Nagas, and also among the Aos it is a unitary family system unlike the joint family

1. Building materials such as iron rod, bricks, cement, sand and other materials are to be brought from the plains—Jorhat, Amguri, Mariani etc.
2. Dimapur is a fast developing commercial town having a Sugar Mill, Industrial Estate and many other undertakings. It is the only railway linked town in the State. In view of its commercial importance all the rich people rush to Dimapur to construct a house there

system of the rest of the country. Every family is an independent unit consisting of the husband, wife and their children. In this area family planning has not yet been introduced vigorously. Therefore, among the lowest income group a family normally consist of as many as six to eight persons on the average. In such a family there are at least two or three school going children—upto Middle School level. The average monthly expenditure of this group comes to about Rs 400/- to Rs500/-.

The family of middle income group also consist of six to eight persons since fertility is high and birth control is generally not practised. In this group a few children study upto High School or even College. So the average monthly expenditure of this group is much higher than the lower income group. Their expenditure is estimated to be between Rs500/- and Rs1000/- per month.

The family of higher income group may be considered to consist of six persons on the average. The members of the family may be less but their living standard is higher than that of the middle group. Their necessities are varied and so their expenditure is much higher than that of the other groups. They live in well-furnished houses with all modern amenities. Their general diet is also of expensive kind like their garments. Generally, they send their children to the best institutions in the locality. Almost every family has one or two persons studying in the good schools and colleges outside Nagaland also. The expenditure incurred on educating their children is quite high. It has to be mentioned that some of the families of this higher income group spend their whole monthly salary on their childrens' education alone. Yet, they can easily manage their both ends meet. The average expenditure of this group varies from Rs1000/- to Rs2000/-. It has to be noted that there are many families whose expenditure is not less than double of their monthly salary. This is possible because of other sources of income, namely, rent from their private houses, and business and contract works etc in *benami* (in other's name) etc. It has to be mentioned here that most of the high officers almost invariably have got a high expenditure on drink which is often foreign liquor.

Approximate monthly family expenditure shown in tabular form

A—Lower Income Group

Item	Amount in Rupees	Percentage to total expenditure.
1. Food items	300	60
2. Clothing	70	14
3. Medical	40	8
4. Recreation	40	8
5. Education	50	10
Total—	500	100

B—Middle Income Group

1. Food items	400	40
2. Clothing	150	15
3. Medical	100	10
4. Recreation	50	5
5. Education	300	30
Total—	1000	100

C—Higher Income Group

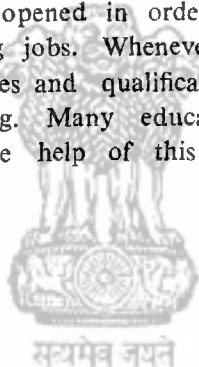
1. Food items	700	35
2. Clothing	300	15
3. Medical	100	5
4. Recreation	100	5
5. Education	500	25
6. Liquors, parties and presents	300	15
Total—	2000	100

There are three cinema halls in Mokokchung Town but there is no theatre hall or any other source of recreation. The people of this district not only enjoy cinema at Mokokchung Town but also often go to the plains of Assam where they enjoy such things. The item Recreation of course includes outings, picnics etc also. In groups A and B Recreation includes drinks also, often rice-beer, and occasionally Indian made 'foreign' liquor.

Employment

Figure regarding the people of this district employed in different vocation has been given in Chapter VIII. It is not exactly known whether 75% of the population depend on cultivation or not. Notwithstanding this fact, this district is now facing the problem of unemployment of educated people. Despite the fact that the Aos are scattered all over Nagaland and even in the plains of Assam serving in various fields, more and more people are coming up seeking jobs.

The State Government of Nagaland has opened up an Employment Exchange at Mokokchung and another at Kohima, the State capital. In view of the growing unemployment these Employment Exchanges were opened in order to provide employment information to those seeking jobs. Whenever they are to get enrolled they are to give their names and qualifications in the Employment Exchange at Mokokchung. Many educated people are coming forward and utilising the help of this office to secure jobs in different fields.



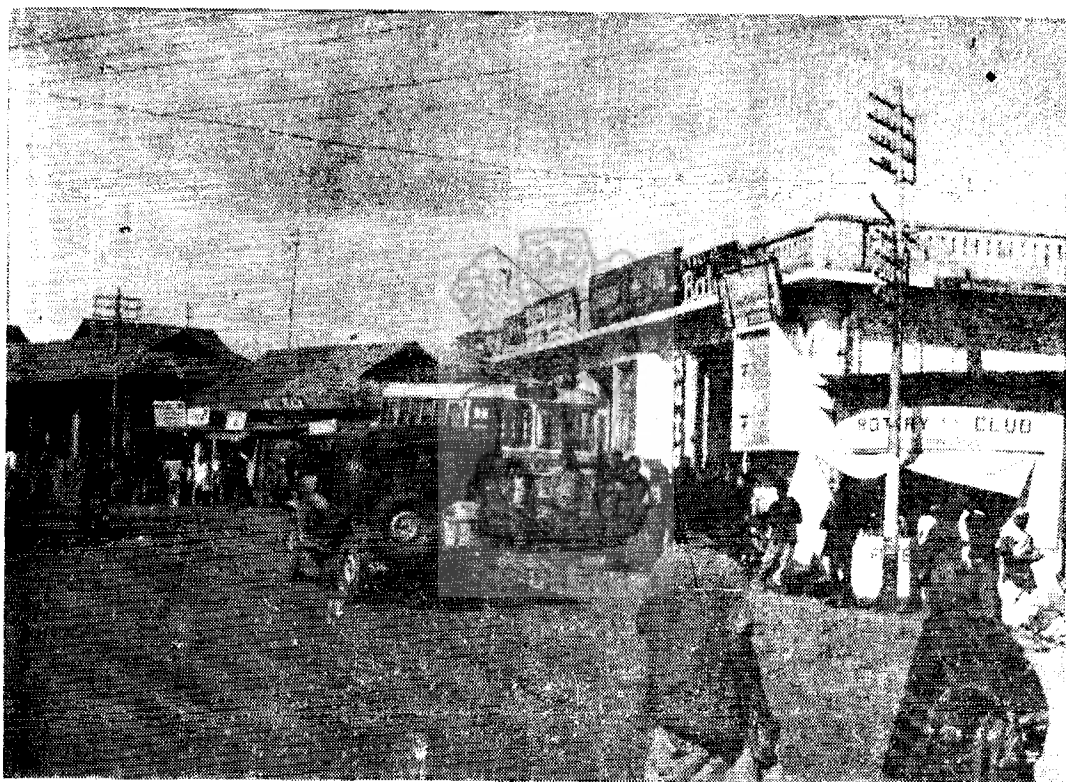
CHAPTER X

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Historical Background

Naga Hills was in isolation for centuries, having no proper administration. It was created a district in 1866 with Samaguting (present Chumukedima) as its headquarter. In the year 1876 the first Sub-Division of this district was opened at Wokha and it was made district headquarter also which was shifted to Kohima in 1878. This Sub-Divisional headquarter was shifted to Mokokchung in 1889 for administrative convenience. The S.D.O. was in over all charge and was second to the Deputy Commissioner who had his headquarters at Kohima. The S.D.O. held judicial and administrative powers, administered the collection of taxes, confirmed the village chiefs to their offices and enforced Government authority and exercised special powers. He pronounced judicial sentences in line with the magisterial powers conferred on him, but the more vital cases were passed on to the Deputy Commissioner. In addition to the discharge of normal official duties he initiated and forwarded important proposals to the Deputy Commissioner on trans-border affairs relating to unadministered tribes. He accompanied the Deputy Commissioner during his tours into the interior place of Mokokchung. The Deputy Commissioner used to look after at the District headquarters and the Sadar Sub-Division Kohima. Therefore, the Sub-Divisional officer exercised discretionary powers in ordinary matters although important policies on matters relating to law and order had to be concurred with by the Deputy Commissioner.

The S.D.O. was assisted by a body of Dobhashis (DBs— Interpreters) whose main work was to translate the words of the local people to the officer in broken Assamese and vice versa, as well as to give a correct interpretation of the local customary laws. In the course of time, a Dobhashis' Court was instituted having jurisdiction over certain specified subjects with powers to impose fines and pass judicial sentences subject however to the concurrence of the Sub-Divisional officer. Since there was no police at that



Shop-line at Mokokchung town.



Deputy Commissioner's Office, Mokokchung.

time, the DBs had to perform the duties of police also. Further, the village heads assisted the S.D.O. in carrying out executive order and administration of justice.

As far back as 1900, Mokokchung showed a rapid progress and change. Police and other departments had sprung up, and trade and business had increased. People from different tribes besides Aos had made Mokokchung their habitat. Delegation from distant villages paid their visits to the S.D.O. to report the conditions in their respective areas. They came to insist on settlement of certain disputes or problems as well.

Post-British Period

A separate Tuensang administrative centre was constituted in 1948 under Naga Hill district. Later in 1951 it became a separate Sub-Division under the Assistant Political Officer with its headquarters at Tuensang Town. Then in 1952 Tuensang was bifurcated from the Naga Hills District and merged into NEFA (North East Frontier Agency) as one of its Frontier Divisions.

Gradually political development and administrative changes brought about the formation of All Naga People's Convention (NPC) in 1957. The first convention which was held at Kohima on 22nd August 1957 reached an agreement to constitute an administrative unit known as Naga Hills Tuensang Area. So under the Naga Hills Tuensang Administrative Regulation, Tuensang was separated from NEFA and added to Naga Hills and the new administrative unit came to be known as NHTA or Naga Hills Tuensang Area with effect from 1st December 1957. And three Districts namely Kohima, Mokokchung, and Tuensang came into being. With the formation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area, Mokokchung ceased to be a Sub-Division after 68 years of its existence and became a District. A Deputy Commissioner was then appointed for the Mokokchung District. Until the birth of Interim Government in 1961 the Naga Hills Tuensang Area was administered by the Commissioner on behalf of the Governor as the virtual agent of the President. All the laws in force in the erstwhile Naga Hills District were declared to continue in the newly carved out district. In 1958 the Second Convention of All Naga People's Convention was held at Ungma. There the Convention resolved to constitute Naga Hills Tuensang Area into a full-fledged State within

the India Union. The Convention held at Mokokchung the next year put forward the proposal that the new State be named as Nagaland. In 1960, the Government of India announced its acceptance of the decision of the Convention. A transitional arrangement was made, and an Interim Body, like de-facto Assembly, consisting of 42 members with an Executive Council of 5 members with Mr. P. Shilu Ao as Chief Executive Councilor was formed to govern the State. In the first session of the Interim Body in 1961, Mokokchung was represented by 3 representatives from the area of the present Mokokchung District in the house of 42 members.

In August 1962 a Bill was passed in the Parliament for the formation of Nagaland as the Sixteenth State in the Union. Nagaland as the sixteenth State of the Indian Union was declared inaugurated on December 1, 1963 by the then President Dr Radhakrishnan. The First General Election of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was held in February 1964 and the Government was formed by Mr. P. Shilu Ao as the first Chief Minister of Nagaland (there was no political party that time).

With the formation of State Government there was a tremendous change in all fields. State Government had passed important Acts to further developmental works and established regular administration. A State Secretariat had been set up at Kohima. Important Directorates and other departments were opened and new administrative centres were formed. Thus the Deputy Commissioner was much relieved of the works he had to do himself in the past. For until the inception of Naga Hills Tuensang Area, he was exercising a general if not technical supervision over the affairs of various departments such as Education, Health, Veterinary Services, Agriculture, Building works etc. The Sub-Divisional Officer who had been burdened with heavy responsibility during the British Government, as his jurisdiction extended over Konyak area, Ao Area, Sema Area and Lotha Area, was also greatly relieved.

Mokokchung district remained in the same position and continued as such till December 1973 when Nagaland was divided into 7 districts such as Kohima into Kohima and Phek ; Mokokchung into Mokokchung, Zunheboto and Wokha ; and Tuensang into Tuensang and Mon districts. Thus Mokokchung was divided into 3 districts and yet Mokokchung continued to be a district with only smaller area, practically one-third of the old district.

Thus the present Mokokchung district, though almost one-third of the old one, has got all the administrative paraphernalia which the old district had. This gives an added advantage for better administration of the area. The area being small, no further Sub-Division has yet been created and the entire district is administered from the sadar headquarter.

Present Administrative Set-up

Present Mokokchung District was formerly divided into five ranges viz. Ongpangkong, Langpangkong, Asetkong, Changkikong and Japukong ranges. But for administrative convenience present Mokokchung district is divided into eight circles such as ;

1. Ongpangkong Circle
2. Chuchuyimlang „
3. Tuli „
4. Alongkima „
5. Kobulong „
6. Longchem „
7. Mangkulemba „
8. Changtongya „

The Deputy Commissioner is the Chief Administrative Officer of the district. At headquarter he is assisted by an Additional Deputy Commissioner, a Sub-Divisional Officer, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a Circle Officer. The entire area is administered from the headquarter at Mokokchung. For the administrative circles, Extra Assistant Commissioner-Cum-Block Development Officers are stationed at Mangkulemba and Changtongya while Circle Officers are posted at Chuchuyimlang, Tuli, Ongpangkong, Longchem, Alongkima and Kobulong for the respective Circles. Area Superintendents are placed at Merangkong and Longchang out-posts.

DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF STAFF IN DC's OFFICE

Deputy Commissioner	—	1
Additional Deputy Commissioner	—	1
Sub-Divisional Officer	—	1
Extra Assistant Commissioner (Establishment)	—	1
Circle Officer (Protocol)	—	1

District Accounts Officer	—	1
District Planning Officer	—	1
Assistant Public Prosecutor, Judicial	—	1
Political Assistant to D. C.	—	1
Head Asstt.	—	1
Peshkar	—	1
U. D. A.	—	18
L. D. A.	—	35
Peon/Personal Peon	—	45
Dobhashi	—	44
Driver	—	39
Chowkidar (Office Chowkidar and Circuit House Chowkidar)	—	4
Sweeper	—	2

THE FOLLOWING STATE LEVEL OFFICES AND OFFICERS-
IN-CHARGE OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS FUNCTION
IN MOKOKCHUNG HEADQUARTER.

Police	—	Under Superintendent of Police.
Public Works Department	—	„ Additional Chief Engineer.
Public Health and Engineering	—	„ Executive Engineer.
Forests	—	„ Divisional Forest Officer.
Agriculture	—	„ District Agriculture Officer.
Industries	—	„ District Industries Officer.
Small Marginal Farmers Development Agency	—	„ Deputy Project Officer.
Publicity	—	„ District Publicity Officer.
Fishery	—	„ Superintendent of Fisheries.
Transport	—	„ District Transport Officer.
Work Shop Organisation	—	„ Asstt. Engineer.
Nagaland State Transport	—	„ Superintendent.
Education	—	„ Deputy Inspector of Schools.
Medical	—	„ Civil Surgeon.

Town Planning	— Under Divisional Town Planner.
Statistical Officer	— „ District Statistical Officer.
Taxes	— „ Superintendent of Taxes.
Co-operative Office	— „ Asstt. Registrar of Co-opertive.
Veterinary „	— „ District Veterinary Officer.
Electricity	— „ Executive Engineer.
Sports Office	— „ District Sports Officer.
Soil Conservation	— „ Soil Conservation Officer.
Excise	— „ Deputy Superintendent of Excise.
Regional Employment	— „ Regional Employment Officer.
Town Committee	— „ Vice Chairman M. T. C. (Mokokchung Town Committee)
Jail	— „ Deputy Superintendent of Jail.
Supply	— „ Asstt. Director of Supply.
Weights and Measures	— „ Asstt. Controller of Weights and Measures.

NAME OF CENTRAL OFFICES

Publicity	— Under Field Publicity Officer.
S. I. B.	— „ Joint Asstt. Director.
Post and Telegraph Office	— „ Post master.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

The Deputy Commissioner is the head of the District. He is vested with special Magisterial powers. His functions are as follows.

- (1) Overall Supervision of the administration of the District.
- (2) All policy matters, development, and planning in the District
- (3) Supervision of matters relating to loan.
- (4) According financial sanction to proposals for purchases submitted to Deputy Commissioner by different branches through Accounts Officer.

- (5) Appointment/Transfer of grade III & IV staff and exercise of other statutory powers.
- (6) Allotment & detailment of Vehicles.
- (7) Relief & Rehabilitation.
- (8) Border Affairs.
- (9) Civil Supply.
- (10) Allotment of quarters in the D.C.'s Pool.

Besides, the Deputy Commissioner is the Chairman of Mokokchung Town Committee as well as that of District Development Committee comprising Heads of Department in the District. The Committee looks into the needs of different departments and seeks to ensure maximum co-ordination.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF SDOs, EACs, COs, DBs, AND GBs.

Sub-Divisional Officer

- (1) Supervision of the administration of all administrative circles.
- (2) District jails (He is the ex-Officio Supdt. of jails).
- (3) Control of prices of commodities in the local market.
- (4) Issuing shop permits.
- (5) Presiding over the Area Councils in sadar area.
- (6) Judicial matters for sadar cases.
- (7) Boundary affairs.
- (8) General supervision of various branches in the absence of the D C. He is vested with Class I Magisterial power.

Extra Assistant Commissioner

He is vested with Class II Megisterial Power.

- (I) He is the drawing and disbursing officer in the D C's Office.
- (II) He tries cases.
- (III) He maintains Office Security and staff welfare.
- (IV) Arms, supervision thereof.
- (V) Renewal of I. L. (Inner Line) Permits.

- (VI) Supervisions of Area Council.
- (VII) Loans
- (VIII) Processing of allotment of quarters under general administration.
- (IX) Land records and settlement.

Circle Officer

He is responsible for maintaining rules and procedures during the visit of any high official as well as to look into his tour and other facilities. He also looks after the general arrangement of the office and the staff.

The EACs, and COs, of the different administrative Circles do the same supervisional works in respect of his circle as the D C. does for the district.

Do-Bhashhis

They deal with customary laws and cases relating to them. They also interpret the language of the local people to the administrative officers, in broken Assamese, and vice-versa.

Gaon-Buras

The GBs (Gaon Buras) are responsible for overall administration of a village unit. They are assisted by Barricks (village elders).

Administration Of Justice

Cases are settled according to the nature of crime committed. If the crime is petty and can be tried according to customary law, it is done so. If the crime is a serious one, it is decided according to the Rules For Administration of Justice and Police, in Nagaland 1937¹. It may be noted here that the Criminal Procedure Code of India does not apply to Nagaland except a few chapters, but its spirit is applicable. The Rule For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland, 1937, is a simple one having only twenty two Rules whereas the Cr. P.C. has got 484 Sections.

1. Originally in 1937 the rule was named Rules For the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District. Later, in 1974, the name was changed as Rules For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland, 1937.

For administration of civil justice there are sixteen Rules only in the Rules For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland, 1937. The Code of Civil Procedure (CPC) does not apply to Nagaland, but its spirit is applicable.

Of course Indian Penal Code (IPC) which specifies offences and its punishments is applicable to Nagaland.

The accused Naga generally confesses his crime if it is a petty one, but it is not always so if the offence is a serious one. Oath taking is an integral part of administration of justice. It is practised according to the Indian Oath Act, Section III. Sometimes the oath is also taken by biting the tooth of a tiger which means if he tells lies he will be eaten by a tiger. However no confession is valid if oath is not administered.

Small cases are decided by Do-Bhasis who have got a court¹ attached to the Deputy Commissioner and other administrative Officers. They decide the cases according to customary law. More serious cases go to the Circle Officer or Extra Assistant Commissioner of the area who holds class II or I magistral powers. Still serious cases go to the Sub-Divisional Officer of the area. Above him there is the court of Additional Deputy Commissioner and then there is the court of the Deputy Commissioner. Both the Additional Deputy Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner hold the powers of a Sessions Judge and can award capital punishment subject to the approval of the High Court of Assam and Nagaland,

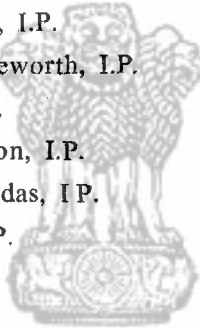
For administration of justice the judicial set up has been reorganised in this district in the light of the provisions of Criminal Procedure Code, and already one Chief Judicial Magistrate's Court has been set up in April 1976, and more judicial magistrates are being appointed,

Any appeal from Deputy Commissioner's or Additional Deputy Commissioner's Court lies in the High Court of Assam and Nagaland which has got a bench in Kohima but seldom sits here.

1. Though there is Do-Bhasis' Court in every district, recently (1978) it has been challenged by some one to the effect that it has got no legal backing, and the case is lying in High Court for hearing and judgement.

APPENDIX—I

NAME OF S.D.Os. OF MOKOKCHUNG



1. Mr. Hinde, I.P.	1880—82
2. Mr. Fasson, I.P.	1882—83
3. Mr. Brorick, I.P.	1883—86
4. Mr. A. E. Davie, I.P.	1886—90
5. Mr. J. M. C. Maspratt, I.P.	1890—93
6. Mr. P. S. R. Anley, I.P.	1893—94
7. Mr. A. E. H. Shutteworth, I.P.	1894—97
8. Mr. E. D. Savi, I.P.	1897—1900
9. Mr. Neel Williammson, I.P.	1900—05
10. Mr. W. C. M. Dundas, I.P.	1905—09
11. Mr. J. Needham, I.P.	1909—11
12. Mr. C. H. Bell, I.P.	1911—12
13. Mr. W. Shaw, I.P.	1912—14
14. Mr. J. H. Hutton, I.C.S.	1914—18
15. Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S.	1918—21
16. Mr. H. G. Dennehy, I.C.S.	1921—22
17. Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S.	1922—24
18. Mr. C. R. Pawsey, MC, I.C.S.	1924—26
19. Mr. N. L. Bor, I.P.S.	1926
20. Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S.	1926
21. Mr. C. R. Pawsey, MC, I.C.S.	1926—27
22. Mr. Capt G. S. Lightfoot, I.A.	1927—28
23. Mr. C. R. Pawsey, MC, I.C.S.	1928—29
24. Mr. S. V. Liyod Ress, I.P.	1929—32
25. Mr. J. P. Stewart, I.C.S.	1932—33
26. Mr. E. T. D. Lambert, I.P.	1933—35
27. Mr. H. Blah, A.C.S.	1935—36


28. Mr. W. J. Smith, I.C.S.	1936—37
29. Mr. H. Blah, A.C.S.	1937—39
30. Mr. P. Adam, I.C.S.	1939—44
31. Mr. H. Blah, A.C.S.	1944—46
32. Mr. P. Adam, I.C.S.	1946—47
33. Mr. G. W. Archer, I.A.S.	1947—48
34. Mr. A. Kevichusa, I.A.S.	1948—51
35. Shri A. K. Roy, I.A.S.	1951—53
36. Shri B. W. Roy, I.A.S.	1953—54
37. Shri B. S. Saraw, I.A.S.	1954—55
38. Shri S. Saigal, I.A.S.	1955—56
39. Shri Lawrence Ingty, I.A.S.	1956—57



APPENDIX—II

NAMES OF DCs OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

(After 1st December 1957 with the formation of N.H.T.A.)

- 
1. Padmashri R. Khathing, M.C, MBE, IFAS 1-3-1958 to 31-7-61
 2. Maj L. Hmingliana Tochhawng, IFAS 1-8-1961 to 19-2-62
 3. Shri R. N. Haldipur, IFAS 20-2-1962 to 26-6-62
 4. Shri H. Naire, IFAS 27-6-1962 to 19-5-63
 5. Shri M. I. Kampani, IFAS 20-5-1963 to 24-6-65
 6. Shri N. I. Jamir, NCS 25-6-1965 to 31-10-67
 7. Padmashri S. C. Dev, IFAS 1-11-1967 to 18-8-69
 8. Shri O. Kathipri, IFAS 19-8-1969 to 17-5-70
 9. Shri T. Aliba Imti, IFAS 18-5-1970 to 25-2-72
 10. Shri N. Jakhalu, IAS 26-2-1972 to 23-3-74
 11. Shri Lanutoshi, IAS 23-3-1974 to 29-10-74
 12. Shri L. Colney, IAS 30-10-1974 to 15-6-78
 13. Shri A. Shanmugam, IAS 16-6-78 —

APPENDIX—III

Villages under Mokokchung District.

Below are given the villages of Mokokchung district Circlewise.
Here the Circle means Census Circle of 1971 Census.

Circle : ONGPANGKONG

1. Aliba
2. Aosetsu
8. Chubayimkum
4. Chuchuyimbang
5. Chungtia
6. Kabza
7. Khensa
8. Kinunger
9. Longmisa
10. Longsa
11. Longkum
12. Mekeli
13. Mokokehung Village
14. Mangmetong
15. Ongpangkong compound
16. Sabangya compound
17. Ungma



Circle : CHUCHUYIMLANG

1. Asangma
2. Chakpa
3. Chuchuyimlang
4. Chuchuyimlang compound
5. Kelingmen

6. Longkong
7. Mongsenyimti
8. Mongsenyimti compound
9. Salolemang
10. Unger
11. Yaongyimti
12. Yasemyong compound

Circle : TULI

1. Anaki
2. Kangtsungtuluba
3. Merangkong Village
4. Merangkong Station
5. Tuli Station
6. Wameken



Circle : ALONGKIMA

1. Alongkima H.Q.
2. Atuphumi
3. Changki
4. Chungliyimsen Village
5. Chungliyimsen Post
6. Dibua
7. Khari
8. Longnak
9. Merakiong
10. Molongyimchen
11. Molongyimsen
12. Mongchen
13. Waromung
14. Yimchenkimong

Circle : KOBULONG

1. Alongchen compound
2. Chami
3. Kobulong compound
4. Longjang
5. Longpha
6. Mopongchukit
7. Sungratsu
8. Yisemyong compound

Circle : LONGCHEM

1. Akhahiga
2. Akhuhuto
3. Akhutito
4. Alongdaki Compound
5. Aonokpu
6. Aosendem
7. Aosunkhum
8. Changdang
9. Chungtiayimsen
10. Japu
11. Lakhuni
12. Lirmen
13. Longchem
14. Lonaphayimsen
15. Longsemdang
16. Medemyim
17. Merinokpu
18. Moayimti
19. Satsuk
20. Shahaphumi
21. Tsutha NAP Camp



22. Tsurang NAP Camp
23. Watiyim
24. Yajang

Circle : CHANGTONGYA

1. Akhoia
2. Changtongya Station
3. Changtongya Yimjen
4. Changtongya Yimsen
5. Yaongyimsen

TOTAL—86



सत्यमेव जयते

Total :

- | | |
|------------------|------|
| 1. Ongpangkong | 17 |
| 2. Chuchuyimlang | — 12 |
| 3. Tuli | — 6 |
| 4. Alongkima | — 14 |
| 5. Kobulong | — 8 |
| 6. Longchem | — 24 |
| 7. Changtongya | — 5 |

Total— 86

CHAPTER XI

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

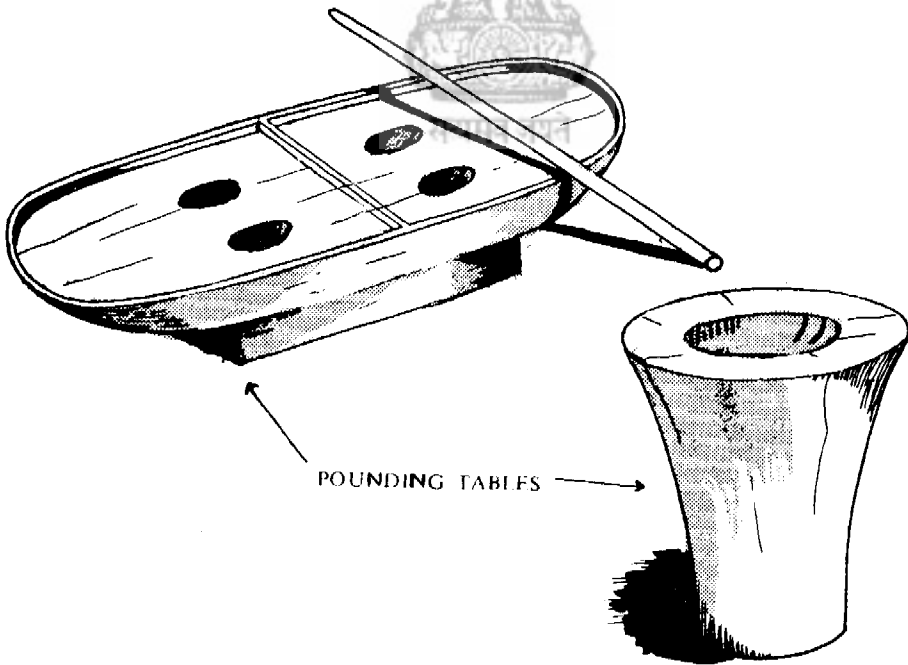
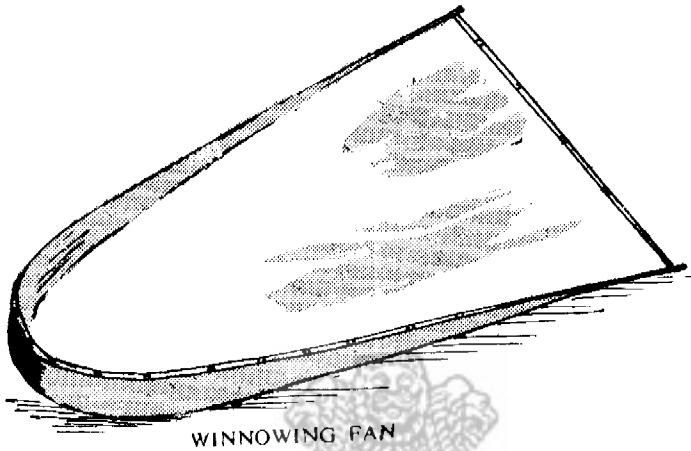
Fiscal History

Before the advent of the British administration revenue as understood nowadays was quite unknown to the people of this district. To all the Naga tribes it was as new as it was to the Aos. Every village was an independent unit and there was no administration except village administration. Before the Britishers opened up this area every village carried their village administration in their own way. Administration of the village is carried on by elders known as 'Tatars' without any pay or remuneration as such. Therefore, to run the administration of the village did not require any kind of revenue. However, in every village there was a certain source of income from fine imposed occasionally on criminal offenders or other offenders. Judicial fines are paid in the form of animals, paddy etc according to the gravity of the offence. Fines occasionally exacted from such sources are used by the elders of the village on feasting or while holding important village assembly. It has been mentioned that in the past, villagers had much respect and reverence for the priests and medicine men as they rendered services to the villagers. They sometimes offer gifts in the form of food-stuffs, poultry etc as token of respect and regard. But this was not revenue collection nor a means of income. It was just a voluntary offer because in return the priests or medicine men are obliged to the community for rendering their services.

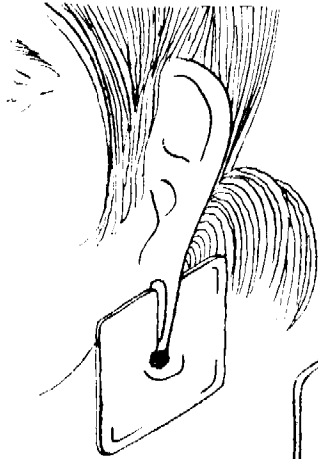
Land Tenure

From time immemorial land belongs to the villagers collectively. When a village is founded it is represented by different clans who claim their respective share in the newly found land. The villagers survey the whole area and claim their boundary with other villages carving out the boundary across the course of a river or some such natural barrier. Then the land is divided between the different clans which is again divided among the

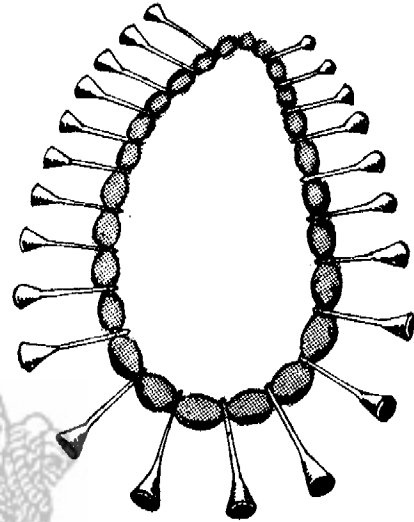
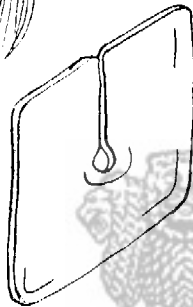
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



ORNAMENTS



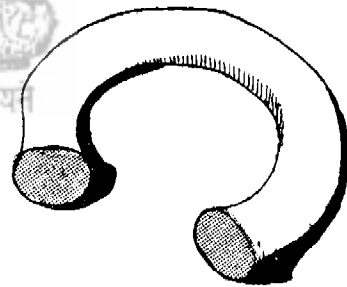
EAR RING



NECKLACE



NECKLACE



BANGLE

families within the clan. Thus in every village there is village land and private land. Village lands are usually reserved mainly for community use. Among the clan the elders assign portion of clan lands to any landless members of the clan for temporary use until he had become established. Every family had their individual or collective land inherited from their forefathers who had it by dint of their chivalric deeds. These lands are very dear to them and are handed down from one generation to the other. But nowadays many people, by embarking on business or such activities sometimes face failure and they don't hesitate to sell away their lands also, though of course within the village. People attach great importance to land and its resources. So selling of land is still restricted without the permission of the villagers or the clan.

Prior to the establishment of British administration there was no revenue system in this district. But when this area came under the administration sometime in 1876 the Government in view of enforcing law and order, and to carry on the administration smoothly, levied some sort of tax on the people. Every house has to pay Rs 2/- per year as house tax. It is collected by the village headman who was the commissioned collector of the tax. House tax as a source of revenue was very meagre amount. But the authority had the opinion that imposing tax on the people exacts obedience from them which was more important politically rather than from fiscal point of view. Despite the fact that the people were made to pay tax acknowledging the authority of the administration, they were contended that they were no longer insecure of their lives and property.

At the beginning of the administration, house tax used to be collected by the village elders or GBs (Gaon Buras) and they used to get a commission of two annas per rupee collected. Earlier, money collected was handed over to the S. D. O. while he was on tour to the different places of the area. But later on the system was changed and the GBs had to deposit it to the S. D. O. in his Sub-Divisional headquarter. At present as previously, the Deputy Commissioner functions as the Collector and is responsible for collecting house-tax. He does it through his administrative Officers such as EAC, CO etc. The rate of house tax, that is, Rs. 2/- per house in a year, is still continuing.

Land Revenue

Since the land belongs to the village or the clans or individuals, the Government never collected land revenue from these lands. The only source of revenue is house tax which is not land revenue in the true sense of the term but merely a token of accepting administration. However, Government is the owner of the Reserved Forests, but no village is set up there and therefore, there is no land revenue from that also.

Miscellaneous Taxes

From the beginning of administration till up to late 1960s, there was no tax other than house tax. It was only several years after the creation of the State of Nagaland that some taxes were levied, like Sale tax, Excise tax, Amusement tax, Professional tax etc.

Sales Tax

The Government of Nagaland has imposed a sales tax on all the articles sold in this State according to Nagaland Finance (State Tax) Act 1967. The rate of this tax however varies from 3 percent to 11 percent. Taxes are imposed on common consumable articles, textiles, cosmetics and luxury goods, motor parts, motor spirits and lubricants etc. The Superintendent of Taxes at Mokokchung is collecting the taxes from the entire district.

Amusement Tax

There are only two public Cinema Halls in the district, and these are at Mokokchung town. Income from Amusement tax therefore very meagre and practically negligible.

Professional Tax

The Government of Nagaland has lately imposed compulsory taxes on income from profession, calling, business or service etc from the year 1969-70. This is a good source of income for the State Government. The Government servants have to pay the tax once in a year from their pay. The Superintendent of Taxes, Mokokchung is responsible for the collection of this tax in the entire district.

The rates of Professional Tax on the basis of gross income of a year are given below.

				Rs.
1. Upto	Rs. 3500		Nil	
2. Exceeding	Rs. 3500	upto	Rs. 5,000	= 24
3. Exceeding	Rs. 5000	...	Rs. 10,000	= 36
4. Exceeding	Rs. 10,000	...	Rs. 15,000	= 50
5. Exceeding	Rs. 15,000	...	Rs. 20,000	= 70
6. Exceeding	Rs. 20,000	...	Rs. 25,000	= 100
7. Exceeding	Rs. 25,000	...	Rs. 30,000	= 150
8. Exceeding	Rs. 30,000	...	Rs. 35,000	= 200
9. Exceeding	Rs. 35,000			= 250

Trade License

The Government obtains a good amount from the issue of trade licenses. Every interested shopkeeper is required to get permit from the Deputy Commissioners and for that a fee is charged varying from Rs.10/- to 30/- per month with yearly renewal fee of Rs. 10/- according to the category of the shop. Gun licenses also require fees to be paid.

Inner-Line Permit Fee

Since the beginning of administration the then Naga Hills was kept as an excluded area by means of declaring it outside the 'Inner-Line'. Therefore the 'Inner-Line' Regulation known as the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 was applied from the very beginning of administration and is still continuing. Any outsider wanting to enter Nagaland is to obtain an inner-line permit, on payment of 50 paise, from the concerned issuing authority. It is issued on behalf of the Deputy Commissioner.

Other Taxes

Some trivial sources of income are the sale of stamps, both judicial and non-judicial. Registration, which is done in the Deputy Commissioner's court is also a source of income though it is very small. Other sources of income of this district are from Administration of Justice, Education, Medical, Public Health Engineering (Water tax), Agriculture, Veterinary, Industries, Extra-ordinary receipts (CPO), Electrical, Government interest etc. It is to be mentioned that the

Government's greatest source of income is from royalty of forest produce. It is collected from Elephant Mahals, Agar trees, Cane Mahals, trees, stone-quarry etc.

Central Taxes

The only central tax collected from this district is the income tax from the non-tribals. Tribals are not required to pay any income tax as they are exempted from it by a judgement of the Supreme Court. It may be noted that formerly the tribals were also paying income tax. But somehow they thought that they need not pay it and so filed a case in Assam High Court and lost. Then they appealed to the Supreme Court where they won the case in a Division Bench by casting vote of the Chief Justice. Since then (late 60s) the tribals serving in tribal area are not required to pay income tax.

Financial Statistics

Since no details of any revenue or tax are available, not to speak of district-wise break-up, we are giving in the Appendices the financial Statistics of the State as a whole, as given in the Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland.

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APPENDIX

TABLE—1

RECEIPTS OF GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND, 1974-75.

Item		Rs. in lakh.
A—Receipts in the consolidated fund		
1. Statutory grant under finance commission award	...	2377.00
2. States share of central taxes & duties under the finance commission award	...	114.18
3. Open market loan	...	200.00
4. Central grant assistance outside the finance commission award for non-plan expenditure	...	100.00
5. Grants from Ministry of Transport for construction & maintenance of border roads	...	370.00
6. Central assistance for centrally sponsored schemes		
(a) Grants	...	87.04
(b) Loans	...	17.68
7. Central assistance for state plan schemes		
(a) Grants	...	1008.00
(b) Loans	...	112.00
8. State receipts	...	392.42
9. Assistance from National Cooperative Development Corporation	...	6.00
Total—A	...	4784.32
B—Surplus in the public account	...	70.00
C—Opening cash balance	...	(..) 60.13
Total Resources (A + B + C)	...	4794.19

Source : State Budget, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

TABLE—2
EXPENDITURE OF GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND 1974—75
(Rupees In Lakhs)

A—Expenditure :				
1.	Gross Revenue expenditure	...	490.79	3723.70
	Deduct recoveries	...	—	560.70
	Net revenue expenditure	...	490.79	3163.00
2.	Gross Capital expenditure	...	1019.93	182.00
	Deduct recoveries	...	—	60.00
	Net Capital expenditure	...	1019.93	122.00
<hr/>				
Total : A	Gross	...	1510.72	3905.70
	Net	...	1510.72	3285.00
<hr/>				
B—Closing Cash Balance	—	1.53
		...	(—)	(—)
<hr/>				
Total : (A—B)	1510.72	3283.47
<hr/>				
				4794.19

Source : State Budget, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

TABLE—3
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

		(Rupees in thousand)	
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974—75	
<hr/>			
A.	Taxes, Duties and other principal heads of Revenue		
	Taxes on income other than corporation tax	...	4421
	Estate Duties	...	81
	Land Revenue	...	442
	State Excise Duties	...	6000
	Taxes on vehicle	...	1230
	Sales tax	...	5983
	Other taxes and Duties	...	300
	Stamps and Registration	...	115
<hr/>			
	Total (A)	...	18572
<hr/>			

TABLE—3 (contd.)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

		(Rupees in thousand)	
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974-75	
<hr/>			
B. Debit Services :			
Interest	3600
<hr/>			
Total (B)	3600
<hr/>			
C. General Services :			
1. Public Service Commission	60
2. Jails	24
3. Police	925
4. Stationery & Printing	20
5. Public Works	80
6. Other Administrative Services	550
7. Contributions and recoveries towards pensions and other retirement benefits	18
8. Miscellaneous General Services	1400
<hr/>			
Total (C)	3077

TABLE—3 (contd.)
 FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
 CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
 OF NAGALAND

Head of revenue and other receipts	(Rupees in thousand) Budget estimate 1974-75	
D. Social and Community Service		
1. Education	...	570
2. Art and Culture	...	5
3. Medical	...	55
4. Family Planning	...	—
5. Public Health & Sanitation	...	100
6. Housing	...	620
7. Urban development	...	5
8. Information and publicity	...	50
9. Labour and employment	...	2
10. Social Security & Welfare	...	25
11. Other social and Community service	...	1
Total—(D)	...	1433

TABLE—3 (contd.)

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND**

Head of revenue and other receipts	(Rupees in thousand)	
	Budget estimate 1974-75	
<hr/>		
E. Economic Services		
1. Cooperation	...	3
2. Other General Economics Services	...	—
3. Agriculture	...	700
4. Minor irrigation, Soil conservation and Area development	...	10
5. Food and nutrition	...	10
6. Animal Husbandary	...	700
7. Dairy development	...	1020
8. Fisheries	...	15
9. Forests	...	1650
10. Community Development	...	250
11. Industries	...	—
12. Village and small industries	...	450
13. Mine and minerals	...	7
14. Water and power development	...	—
15. Power Projects	...	3264
16. Roads Bridge	...	—
17. Roads and water transport services	...	3700
18. Tourism	...	6
<hr/>		
Total—E.	...	11785

TABLE—3 (contd.)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

Head of revenue and other receipts	(Rupees in thousand) Budget estimate 1974-75	
G. Contribution and Miscellaneous adjustments		
1. States share on union Excise duties	...	7200
2. Grants-in-aid from Central Govt.	...	356994
Total—G.	...	364194
H. Public debt :		
1. Internal debt of the State Government	...	57000
2. Loans and advances from the Central Govt.	...	8888
Total H.	...	65888
I. Loans and advances :		
1. Loans and advances by State/ Union Territory Government	...	5500
Total : I	...	5500
Total-Receipts in consolidated fund of the State of Nagaland		... 478432

Source : State Budget, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

TABLE—4
REVENUE AND CAPITAL ACCOUNTS
OVERALL RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENT
(Rupees in thousand)

Year	Receipts			Disbursement			Surplus (+)/Deficit (—)		
	Revenue account	Capital account	Total	Revenue account	Capital account	Total	Revenue account	Capital account	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1970-71	3,02,191	21,98,527	25,00,718	2,46,015	22,51,516	24,97,561	(+)56,146	(—)52,989	(+) 3,157
1971-72	2,88,535	25,41,547	28,30,082	2,72,297	25,61,836	28,34,133	(+)16,238	(—)20,289	(—) 4,051
1972-73	3,84,520	18,30,981	22,15,501	3,17,594	18,17,373	21,34,967	(+)66,926	(+)13,603	(+)80,534
1973-74(B.E.)	3,54,116	18,36,631	1,90,747	3,24,533	18,75,608	22,00,141	(+)29,583	(—)38,971	(—) 9,394
1973-74(R.E.)	3,26,853	18,72,696	21,29,549	3,19,853	18,70,282	21,90,140	(+) 6,995	(+) 2,414	(+) 9,409
1974-75(B.E.)	4,02,944	17,22,398	21,25,342	3,57,174	17,66,408	21,23,582	(+)45,770	(—)44,010	(+) 1,760

B.E.—Budget Estimate
R.E.—Revised Estimate

Source: State Budget, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1974.

TABLE—5

ANNUAL COLLECTION OF ENTERTAINMENT
TAX NUMBER OF CINEGOERS OR TICKETS
SOLD AND NUMBER OF SHOWS HELD FROM
1969—70 to 1973—74

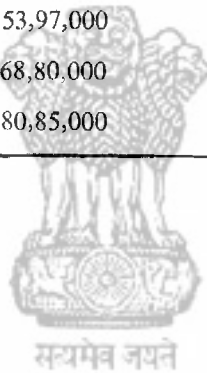
Year	Annual collec- tion of enter- tainment Tax Rs.	Number of Cinegoers or Tickets sold	Number of shows held
1	2	3	4
1969-70	2,55,853	8,02,891	3,119
1970-71	4,75,278	11,72,827	3,896
1971-72	3,03,056	6,36,882	2,005
1972-73	4,21,233	12,53,791	3,449
1973-74	4,23,292	12,35,395	3,612

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Source: Commissioner of Taxes, Nagaland, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

TABLE—6
GROSS AND NET COLLECTIONS IN SMALL
SAVING SECURITIES IN NAGALAND,
from 1969-70 to 1973-74.

Year	Gross collection	(In Rupees) Net collection
1969-70	53,66,593	14,43,530
1970-71	52,70,220	5,00,680
1971-72	53,97,000	9,59,000
1992-73	68,80,000	83,000
1973-74	80,85,000	11,71,000



Source: Regional Director, National Savings Shillong as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

CHAPTER XII

LAW AND ORDER, AND JUSTICE

Background

The modern administration as introduced by the Britishers came to this district in 1876 when the Naga Hills district opened its headquarter at Wokha. Before that date this district was away from the pale of any centralised administration. They had their own way of administration which was village-centred. Though village centred it had its own way of maintaining law and order and dispensing justice. In olden time when a village is established an organisation called 'Putu Menden' is also established. It consists of the elected members of the oldest age group of different Khels of that village. Its duty was to maintain law and order and dispense justice. This Putu Menden used to be elected for one generation—in some villages it used to be 30 years and in some it was less.

However, after the introduction of British administration, the two institutions of Gaon-Bura (GB) and Do-Bhasi (DB) were introduced. The GBs are village heads and through them the administrative Officers used to get certain works done by the villagers or certain orders carried out. By virtue of their position as village elders they had the de-facto power of maintaining law and order. They were not endowed with judicial power but by virtue of their position in the village they used to settle the cases amicably or even by fine which they used to appropriate themselves for feasting on meat and drink. This was the thing in olden time as well as it still continues.

Do-Bhasi or DB as the name implies, is a translator. His duty was to translate the language of the villager to the Officer in broken Assamese and vice-versa. They also interpreted customary law and gradually were endowed with judicial as well as police power. It was their duty, as well as that of the GBs to apprehend the offender and bring him before the administrative officer. Still the same system continues in the villages.

Before the introduction of administration there was the practice of head-hunting. It was a sport and a glorious act of valour and bravery, but it was always at the cost of other's head. So when the administration was introduced, its first duty was to stop the practice of head-hunting. But since such a traditional chivalrous act is difficult to stop overnight, the problem of early administration was mainly connected with head-hunting. The other problem was tribal feuds. Other than these two and a few problems connected with land or possession of a Mithun (a semi wild animal between cow and buffalo, known as gayal) there was no problem of law and order for the early administration, because dacoity, robbery, pick-pocketing, murder etc or sexual crime were practically non-existent. And whatever crime there was the criminal used to be brought to the administrator by the DBs and so there was very little need of any police personnel to maintain law and order. That is why at the time of formation of NHTA there were only a few police Stations such as Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang, in the whole of NHTA, and that also mainly for normal guard of the Deputy Commissioner or Sub-Divisional officer. Of course the Police Station of Dimapur, a plains town, had its normal duties.

Present Position

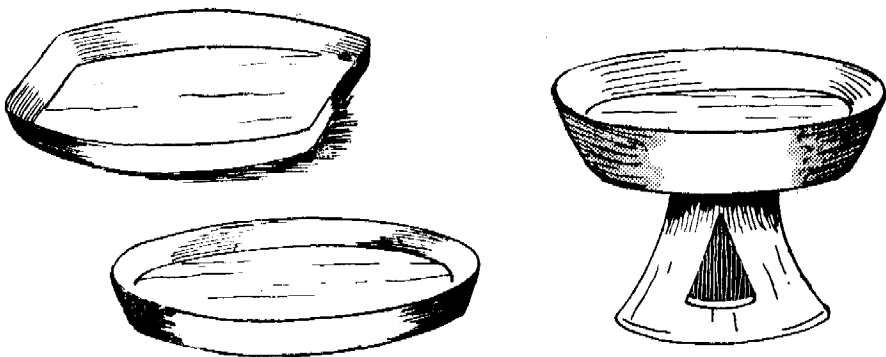
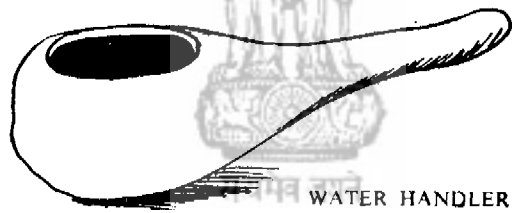
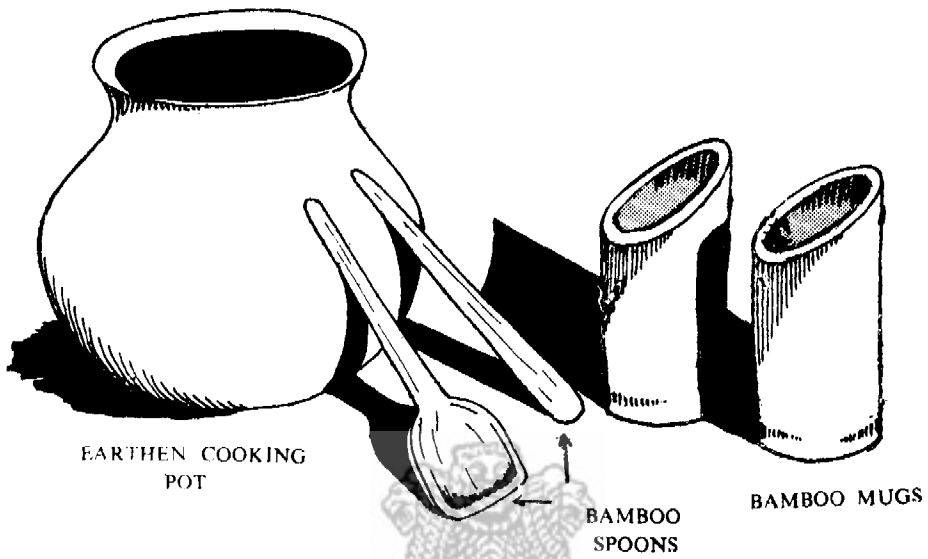
After the formation of the State of Nagaland on 1st December 1963 gradually police stations were opened in Wokha and Zunheboto, these two being newly created Sub-divisions of the then Mokokchung district. Gradually more police out posts have been opened and at present almost every administrative out post has got a police out-post if not a police station. Since still now the incidence of crime such as dacoity, robbery, homicide, murder etc or sexual crime is very low, the police has got very little work to do. The only problem of law and order which takes place more often than others is theft and drunkenness. Misbehaviour after getting drunk or pretending so, is committed by younger group of people and is generally lightly treated if it does not involve any physical injury to any one. Theft is also committed by younger group of people and is not generally serious in nature. However, serious or light, it is dealt with accordingly.

In short we can say that there is no serious problem of law and order in this district as yet.



Shales of bitter-water gourd. It is used to handle water.

HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



WOODEN PLATTERS

Below are given the details of crimes of Mokokchung district for 1966 to 1975. It may be noted that it includes the figures of Wokha and Zunheboto too.

CRIME STATEMENT FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

Year	Case reported	Case settled	Pending inven- tigation	Pen- ding
1966	144	114	nil	nil
1967	169	167	2	nil
1968	346	345	1	nil
1969	182	182	nil	nil
1970	144	144	nil	nil
1971	158	158	nil	nil
1972	268	264	2	2
1973	429	413	4	12
1974	423	404	9	10
1975	323	223	45	55

POLICE ORGANISATION

In the earlier period of administration the functions of police used to be performed by the DBs as has already been discussed in this Chapter. Gradually Police Stations were opened in Dimapur, Kohima and Mokokchung and it was then under the Superintendent of Police, Naga Hills, stationed at Kohima. He was under the IGP, Assam.

With the formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963, police organisation was also changed. At the beginning years of the State, the Commissioner of Nagaland was the ex-officio Inspector General of Police. Later a separate IGP was appointed and at present (January 1977) the entire Police force of this State is under his control.

There should have been at least one Superintendent of Police for each district, but all the posts have not yet been created and as such the three SPs of the former three districts are carrying out the works of other districts.

So the SP of Mokokchung is the head of police administration of not only Mokokchung district but of Wokha and Zunheboto too ¹.

At present there is only one Police Station at Mokokchung and some out posts in other places as given below.

Mokokchung	:	Police station, with one Inspector as O/C, and several Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors.
Tuli	:	Out post
Chuchuyimlang	:	Out post
Changtongya	:	Out post
Merangkong	:	Out post
Alongkima	:	Out post
Ongpangkong Compound	:	Out post
Mangkolemba	:	Out post

There was an out post at Longchem but it has been abolished recently.

Armed Police

Like other States, Nagaland has got two sets of police force. One is Nagaland Police which is unarmed, and the other is Nagaland Armed Police which, as the very name implies, is an armed constabulary. The regular police force which is generally known as unarmed, in contra-distinction to armed forces, though they also use arms, are stationed in different police stations, beat offices, and police out posts. But the armed force is stationed in headquarter ² only and they are employed only in grave cases of law and order which seldom occurs. One such case arose in Mokokchung Town in 1971 when the armed police had to open fire on the unruly school students.

The State of Nagaland has got also Police Fire Service Organisation and Traffic Police as well as Village Guards, and the first two have got their units in the Mokokchung town.

1. S.P. Kohima is looking after Phek district and S.P. Tuensang is looking after Mon district, over and above their own district.
2. The headquarter of 2nd Battalion N.A.P. (Nagaland Armed Police) is situated at Alichen which is about 9 kilometers from Mokokchung.

Central Reserve Police force is also there in the State and so also in this district. They are stationed in Mokokchung town and some other places. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them as and when it is required.

Assam Rifles

Since the opening up of Naga Hills and setting up administration therein, Assam Rifles, a paramilitary organisation, have set up their camps in various places of the then Naga Hills district. In course of time they have covered in, the entire State and at present there are several Assam Rifles camps in this district. These camps are meant to keep vigil as it is a border State. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them if necessary.

Training

When this State was a district of Assam its police personnel used to get training from Dergaon, the Police Training Centre of Assam. Some years after the formation of the State, it has set up a Police Training Centre at Chumukedima¹ some 15 km inside from Dimapur. At present all the police personnel are trained there.

Jails And Lock-ups

There is a Jail in Mokokchung district and it is situated in the Mokokchung town, the district headquarter. This Jail serves the purpose for the districts of both Wokha and Zunheboto. There is also a police lock-up, attached with Police Station of Mokokchung town.

Administration Of Justice

Since there was no serious problem of law and order, there had never been any separate organisation for administration of justice. All the time administrative officers who have been vested with different kinds of magistrial powers, have been administering justice, as it was, and still is, in many places of the rest of India.

1. Chumukedima. Formelly, in the early days of formation of Naga Hills district in 1866, the place was known as Samegooting. Later it came to be known as Nichuguard (Lower guard) and only recently in 1970s, it has been renamed Chumukedima

In the villages the GBs (Gaon-Bura) are settling petty cases amicably or with minor fine which they themselves use up for refreshment. Though it is also administration of justice, it has got no statutory or legal force.

Next comes the institution of the DBs (Do-Bhasi). They are generally vested with the powers to dispense of cases according to customary laws, and they have got their own court attached with the court of the administrator. These DBs have got court in all the administrative centres beginning from Area Superintendent to Circle Officer to Extra Assistant Commissioner to the Deputy Commissioner. The number of DBs attached with each administrator varies according to the rank of the administrator. Naturally the highest number of the DBs are attached with the Deputy Commissioner and the lowest with an Area Superintendent. In the Deputy Commissioner's Court of Mokokchung there are about 30 DBs.

The DBs generally settle minor cases and according to customary law

In the hierarchy of administration of justice the Circle officer or the Extra Assistant Commissioner, as the case may be comes above the DBs. These Officers are vested with Class II or Class I magistrial powers. They try the cases of more serious nature and award the punishment according to Criminal Procedure Code and Indian Penal Code, or even customary law. But in the case where any non-Naga is involved, however small the case may be, and which can not be settled in accordance with customary law, it has to be decided according to the Rules For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland 1937 and naturally such cases are tried by the magistrate of Class I or Class II powers. More serious cases are taken up in the court of the Additional Deputy Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, who then works as the District and Sessions judge for which he has got powers. Cr. P. C. is not applicable to Nagaland but its spirit is applicable.

There is no separate courts for Civil and Criminal cases—both the cases are taken up by the same court.

For trying very serious cases, such as murder etc a post of Chief Judicial Officer has been created in the State level but

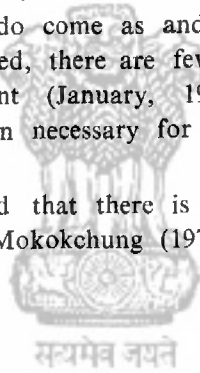
the post has not been filled up. When filled up, the serious cases all over the State will go to him.

The entire judicial system is under the Assam-Nagaland High Court which sits at Gauhati but has got a Bench at Kohima also.

Legal Profession

Crime is less and Civil cases are few. Therefore legal profession has not yet been found attractive to the local people. Previously the pleaders of Assam used to come to Mokokchung or even other courts of the State to plead for certain serious cases, and still they do come as and if called for. But so far local people are concerned, there are few of them in this profession—only four at present (January, 1977) and they are quite adequate, rather more than necessary for the local needs.

It may be noted that there is a District Bar Association of nine Advocates, in Mokokchung (1977).



The department of Fishery is under Agriculture. It is looked after by a Fishery Officer. He looks into pisciculture and recommends loan for that.

Animal Husbandry And Veterinary

There is an Animal Husbandry and Veterinary unit at Mokokchung and it is manned by District Veterinary Officer and his staff. They have got several field officers in different places. They look after diseases of cattle, pig, poultry birds etc. They have also several bulls for breeding improved variety of cattle. Artificial insemination is also done in those places. They also have rinder pest control unit.

Forest

Previously the forests of Nagaland formed a Division under Assam and in 1962-63 the Directorate of Forests was formed. Later in 1967-68 the designation of the Director was changed to Chief Conservator of Forests, Nagaland, and the Deputy Director was redesignated as Conservator of Forests. The forests of Mokokchung district are looked after by one Divisional Forest Officer stationed at Mokokchung town. The department of forests checks unauthorised felling of trees from its protected forests. (No reserved forest in this district). It also collects royalties from trees and stone quarries apart from its other duties.

Details of area under forests in this district are not available, but in the year 1973-74 the total area under forests in the former Mokokchung district was 1,05,065 hectares of which 43,030 hectares were under Protected Forests and 62,025 hectares were unclassified or village Forests, but there was no Reserved Forests in this district ¹.

Industries

There is a Directorate of Industries in the State. It functions through its district officers, and there is a District Industries Officer at Mokokchung, and he looks into the various small industries of this district such as weaving, smithy, carpentry, motor

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland. 1974.

repair, fruit preservation etc. In all these cases he also recommends loans or gives articles on subsidy. So far organised industries are concerned such as Tuli Paper Mill etc they are directly supervised by the State level organisation.

Co-operation

Registrar of Co-operatives is the head of the State level co-operative Organisation. He carries out the work in the districts through Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives and there is one such officer in Mokokchung. He looks into the Co-operative movement of this district and recommends investment. The details of co-operative of this district have been given in Chapter VI.

Public Works Department

Prior to the creation of State of Nagaland it was only a Division under the charge of an Executive Engineer. Later, after the creation of the State, the department of PWD was headed by a Superintending Engineer. With the acceleration of development works, particularly in respect of roads and buildings, the department is now headed by a Chief Engineer. He has got several Superintending and Executive Engineers all over the State. The PWD of Mokokchung is headed by an Additional Chief Engineer.

Electrical Department

The head of the Electrical Department of the State is the Chief Engineer, Electricity. The electrical department of Mokokchung district is headed by an Executive Engineer of that department. Not only Mokokchung town but all the administrative outposts and even many villages have been electrified.

Transport

The Nagaland State Transport is headed by a General Manager with his headquarter at Dimapur. This organisation plies buses in various routes within the State as well as between two points of this State through the State of Assam. Mokokchung is one of its important Stations and from there buses ply on several routes. Apart from passenger buses the department has got trucks also for carrying goods. The NST (Nagaland State

CHAPTER XIV

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT

Introduction

All the Naga tribes and so also the Ao have come to their present habitat from outside. Ao traditional story traces their origin from Longtrok, a group of six stones, in Chungliyimti in Sangtam area in Tuensang district. It is about 20 km from Mokokchung town, on the east. From Longtrok they crossed over river Dikhu and spread on the west of it and have settled in the present area. There are altogether 86 villages in Mokokchung district of which 81 are Ao villages and 5 Sema villages.

The above history in nutshell goes to prove that the Aos were an organised community at the time of their dispersal from Chungliyimti and settlement in present area. They have built up 81 villages over a long period of time and most of them are fairly old. The society was so organised that they developed certain rules and regulations of administering a new village when it is founded.

According to the tradition, when a village is founded a village government is set up consisting of representatives of all the clans of the village. This government or village council is called Putu Menden. Its members are selected by consensus of the respective clans and the members hold office for one generation—in some cases it is 25 years and in some cases it is 30 years. Generally, the term of 30 years is followed by the Chungli Aos and that of 25 years is followed by the Mongsens Aos. It is said that the Mongsens are also nowadays following the Chungli practice. In some villages both Chunglis and Mongsens are living side by side and in those villages they have two Putu Mendens, one each for two groups of people¹. Anyway, after one generation the members of the Putu Menden vacate the office and

1. Aier Imti L. Ao Naga Social and Customary Genealogy p. 4-5.

Transport) Organisation of Mokokchung is looked after by a Station Superintendent.

Workshop Organisation

The Nagaland State Transport department has got its main workshop at Dimapur, but there are some small workshops in other places. At Mokokchung there is a medium size Workshop of the NST.

Civil Supply

The Civil Supply Department is headed by a Director at the State level, stationed at Dimapur. The department looks into supply of essential articles such as rice, atta, sugar, kerosene oil, dal, tea leaf etc etc. In Mokokchung district this organisation is headed by an Assistant Director of Supply. Of course the Deputy Commissioner is the ex-officio District Supply Officer and the Assistant Director of Supply works under his guidance.

Weights and Measures

The Department of Weights and Measures has got an Assistant Controller at Mokokchung. He looks into the activities of this department. His main duty is to check up the weights and measures of fraudulent businessmen for its correctness.

Statistics

The Department of Economics and Statistics of the State is headed by a Deputy Director. He collects the data from different districts through his Statistical Officer placed in each district and Mokokchung has got one such officer.

Police

The Inspector General of Police, Nagaland is the head of the Police Organisation of the State. The police organisation (unarmed) of Mokokchung district is headed by one Superintendent of Police. The armed police battalion which is stationed at Mokokchung is under one Assistant Commandant. The Police Fire Service and Traffic Police are still under the Superintendent of Police, Mokokchung.

Town Planning

The Town Planning department of the State is headed by a Senior Town Planner. He has got Assistant Town Planner in each district and Mokokchung has got one such officer.

Taxation

The Department of Taxes of the State is headed by a Commissioner of Taxes with headquarter at Dimapur. The works of this department are managed by a Superintendent of Taxes posted at Mokokchung.

Excise

The Department of Excise has got a Superintendent posted at Mokokchung and he is looking into the business of this department in this district.

Publicity

The Department of Information, Tourism and Publicity, a State level organisation, is headed by a Director. It has got a District Publicity Officer at Mokokchung and he carries out the work of this department in this district.

Education

Education of the State is under the Director of Education. The department has got a Deputy Inspector of Schools at Mokokchung who is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer for all the Primary and Middle English Schools of the district. He also inspects the M E. Schools, but the Primary Schools are inspected by the Sub-Inspector of Schools of which there are three in the district placed at three different places.

Headmasters of the Government High Schools are Drawing and Disbursing Officers in respect of their establishments, but it is inspected by Inspector of Schools of which there are three in the State and one of them is posted at Mokokchung.

Colleges are also under the control of the Director of Education and there is one College in this district for general education. The Theological college at Mokokchung does not come under the purview of education department.

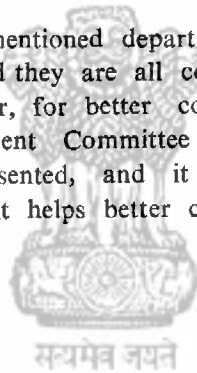
Public Health Engineering

At the State level there is a Department of Public Health Engineering and it gets its works looked after in this district by the Executive Engineer of the Department.

Medical

There is a 75-bedded hospital at Mokokchung besides a 50-bedded T. B. Hospital. There are several other hospitals and several dispensaries also in this district. All these medical institutions of this district are under the control of the Civil Surgeon of this district.

All the above mentioned departments have got their own organisational set up and they are all controlled by their respective departments. But, however, for better coordination of works there is a District Development Committee in which all the district level Officers are represented, and it is presided over by the Deputy Commissioner. It helps better co-ordination among all the departments.



new members are selected. It may be mentioned that the members of Putu Menden are selected from the senior age group of the society.

This was the condition before the advent of administration to this area and still the same system of self government of the village is continuing. Only the thing that the two institutions of Gaon-Bura and Barik have been introduced by the Britishers. Gaon-Buras are village elders selected by the villagers and approved by the Government. Bariks are just below the Gaon-Buras and selected in the same manner. These two groups of people are practically liaison officers between the village and Government. Otherwise they are not connected with village administration. But, however, by virtue of their office they also exert influence in the village administration.

Present Position

Like rest of the country the people of Mokokchung district also have got local-self government. It is also, like other places, three-tier system based on village Council, Range Council and District Council, corresponding to Goan Panchayat, Anchal Panchayat and Zila Parishad. We shall discuss them here one by one.

Village Council

It is an elected body by the villagers and approved by the Government. Its main function is to maintain peace and order in the village and dispense justice according to customary law. It has to be mentioned here that every tribe and even different villages of the same tribe have different customary laws. And it is the duty of the Village Council to abide by that customs. The powers and functions of the Village Councils are given below.

- 1) The Village Council shall be responsible for matters relating to the internal administration works and enforcement of all orders, rules and regulations passed by the Government authorities.

- 2) It shall arrest all criminals.

- 3) It shall report as soon as possible all crimes, violent deaths or serious accidents and all occurrences likely to affect public peace.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

Mokokchung has been a Sub-Division of Naga Hills district since 1889 and it is on the border of Assam. As a result of these two factors it has been much more developed than the interior places of the districts of Naga Hills. To have development means to have the agencies for developments also, so that the works can be carried out. Once it is developed in one respect it gets impetus for development in another respect too. Thus development is rather like a cycle and it goes on adding to itself.

Since this became a district in 1957 there was a wave of opening various district level offices in this district and almost all concentrated in Mokokchung town. The names of most of the departments working in this district have been mentioned in Chapter X, but no details about them have been given there. Here we shall give some details of them. It may be noted that most of the district level officers of this district are still looking after their departments of Wokha and Zunheboto districts which were formerly its parts, but have not yet been provided with all the district level officers.

Agriculture

Before the creation of the State of Nagaland one District Agricultural Officer was functioning at Kohima and a few demonstrators were working in this district.

After creation of the three districts with the formation of NHTA, one District Agricultural Officer was placed at each district headquarter. He looks after the needs of the peasants and recommends loan for opening new terrace field and orchard etc, and supplies improved seeds, fertilizers, etc on subsidy and of course free advice. He also helps the peasants taking necessary care against pests and insects.

4) It shall report to the nearest Medical Officer or Administrative Headquarter the occurrences likely to affect public peace.

5) It shall report the presence of all strangers, foreigners, vagrants and suspects within its village and Khels ¹ and is empowered to arrest such persons and use necessary force to do so.

6) It may arrest persons guilty of the following :

- a) Rioting
- b) Murder
- c) Counterfeiting
- d) Robbery
- e) Theft
- f) Arson
- g) Burglary
- h) Forgery etc

7) A Village Council can settle cases of the following nature.

- a) Land dispute including water dispute
- b) Simple assaults
- c) Brawling and drunkenness
- d) Pilfering cases
- e) Divorce cases
- f) Fornication and adultery cases
- g) Thefts
- h) Damage to crops by cattle
- i) Civil disputes, provided the value of property does not exceed Rs. 500/-.

8) Any other case which can be settled according to the tribal customary law.

9) A Village Council may impose fine upto Rs 100/- and may award compensation there of if the Village Council thinks fit.

10) A Village Council can compel the attendance of witness and inflict fines upto Rs 50/- for non-attendance.

11) Cases shall be settled according to the tribal Customary Law prevailing at the time provided such settlement is not at variance with ordinary Criminal Law.

1. 'Khel' is a part of a village like a Para, Mahalla or Parish etc.

12) No appeal against the unanimous decision of the Village Council in case of the breach of the customary law shall lie.

13) Village Council may maintain record of all cases settled but it is not compulsory.

Area Council

Area Council comprises of an area or a Circle or group of contiguous villages. Its members are elected by the Village Councils in the proportion of one member for every 500 people or part thereof not below 250. Villages having less than 250 population are grouped with other contiguous villages to make the number of people adequate for representation of at least one member in the Council. The Council looks into the execution of welfare and development schemes as well as it suggests ways and means of development of that area. It also settles inter-village disputes and feuds concerning persons of more than one village of its jurisdiction.

Its powers and function are enumerated below.

1) The Area Council shall discuss and adopt resolutions as regards welfare and development of the area concerned.

2) The Area Council shall function according to the customary procedure as decided by the Interim Body.

3) The Area Council shall decide any village disputes according to the customary procedure if it is referred to the Area Council.

4) There shall be a meeting of the Area Council at least once in every three months.

5) The Area Council shall act as an Advisory Board in matters relating to developmental activities.

Following are the Area Councils of this district.

1) Ongpangkong (2) Langpangkong (3) Asetkong

4) Japukong (5) Jangpetkong.

Regional Council

Formerly, in time of the old three districts, there were Tribal Councils in Nagaland, but not District Councils. There were as many tribal councils as the tribes and naturally there was tribalism in action. This was disconcerting and so a Commission was set up under the chairmanship of the then Chief

Secretary Shri R. Kathing to report on its activity etc. The Kathing Commission stated that Tribal Councils were practising tribalism, and suggested its abolition. Following the recommendation of this Commission the Government of Nagaland abolished all the Tribal Councils and organised District Councils in its place. It may be noted that, that time in any District Council several tribes were represented.

After the reorganisation of the districts in December in 1973, the District Councils were replaced by Regional Councils, having one each for the former three districts. Thus now there is one Regional Council for the three districts such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto together.

The Regional Council's main concern is development works of the entire region of the former district of Mokokchung or the present three districts, viz, Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto.

Its powers and functions are given below :

1) The Council shall discuss welfare and development works at the district level and can adopt resolutions in the meeting of the Council for that purpose.

2) The Council can adopt resolution in respect of administration, allotment, occupation, transfer or alienation and acquisition of land within its jurisdiction, or for any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the region.

3) With previous permission of the Government the Council can raise additional funds, and it has to take care of the funds which may be placed at its disposal for development of the region.

4) The Council shall represent the region and speak for its tribes in matters relating to protection of arts, crafts, traditions and ceremonies of the different tribes of the district.

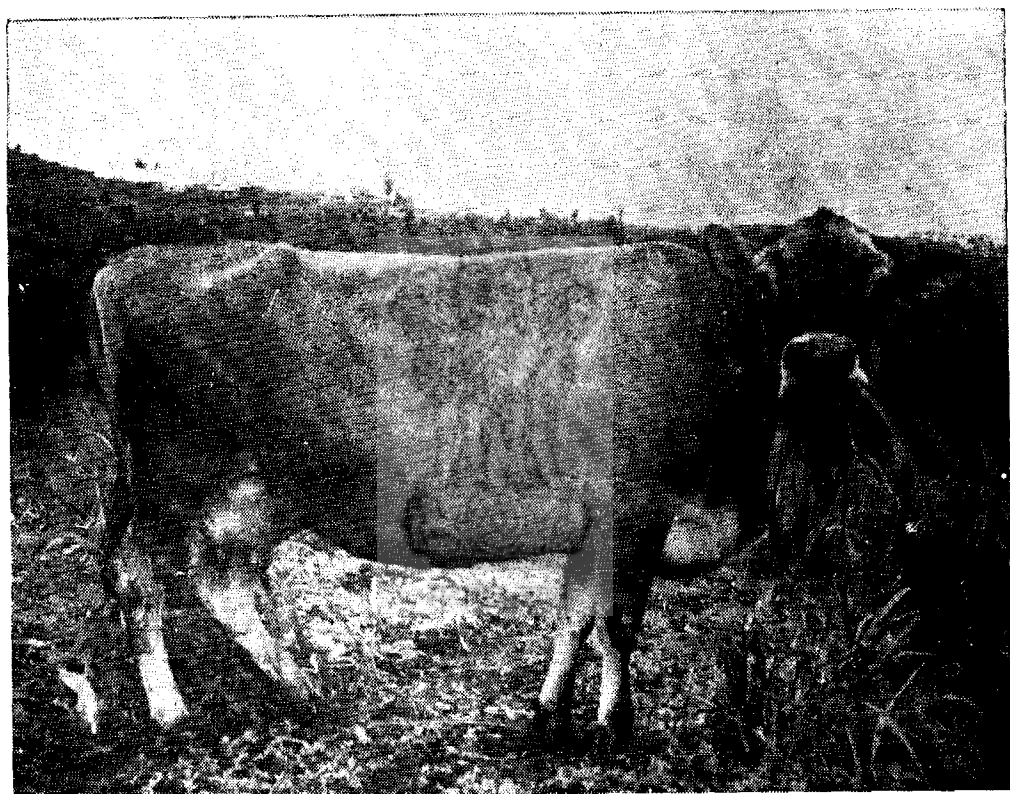
5) The Council can appoint sub-Committee to deal with particular case.

6) The Council can adopt resolution providing the way in which it shall carry out its business.

7) The Council shall meet at least once in three months.



A mithun (gayal) is a prized animal.



A good breed cow is an asset to the people.

Municipality

There is only one town in this district and it is Mokokchung Town (population 17,423), the headquarters of the districts. It has got a municipality and it is known by the name Mokokchung Town Committee (MTC). Deputy Commissioner himself is the ex-officio Chairman of this Committee.

The Town Committee looks after the sanitation etc of the town and does all other works of a municipality. But since most of its works such as electricity supply, water supply etc are done by the government, the Town Committee is mainly concerned to keep the town clean and giving suggestions to the Government for doing this thing or that thing.

Of course mention may be made of the reforming zeal and interest being shown by the Vice-Chairman of Mokokchung Town Committee, whose initiative has beautified the town. The measures taken to this effect are, placing of dust-bins on the roadside, planting of trees, removing of unwanted sheds on the roadside, display of signboards reminding the people of their civic duty, and organising meeting inviting suggestions for public welfare, sanitation etc. Social works are also organised and all the citizens of the town take part in it by cleaning their respective compound and surroundings etc. This they do as voluntary duty to ensure a healthy environment and lively atmosphere of the town.

Since there is no rickshaws or cart in this town, it has nothing to do for transport system. However, it has got a great influence on the Government for all matters of administration of this town.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Historical Background

It is just a century that this area has been opened to administration and so to modern civilization. This district has got its border with Assam plains and as such the people had some connection with the plains people. And it is as a result of this relation that the first Christian Missionary activity started in this district and one of the first missionaries was a plainsman.

However, the greater part of the district remained outside the influence of the plains, and they used to live a primitive and pagan life. Therefore it goes without saying that there was no form of modern education in any sense of the term, and there was no literacy at all. But, however, since it was an organised society in the primitive sense of the term, they had to educate their young men in warfare, headhunting and self defence as well as cultivation etc, all the necessary things that the society needed. So this was a kind of education in a broad sense.

One of the first Christian missionaries who came to this district was Kutula Babu or Godhula Babu, an Assamese. He came to Molungyimchen village in 1872. Later in 1876 Rev. E. W. Clark, a Western Christian Missionary, came to that village to stay there. Soon after this Rev Clark started an informal school in Molungyimsen ¹ village, a part of Molungyimchen, in 1878, with the help of Godhula Babu. Later in 1882 the missionaries came to Mopongchukit village to stay there and started another school in Impur the Mission Compound, which is a part of Mopongchukit village. This school was started in 1882. Thus we can say that the beginning of education in this district or so to say in this State, started

1. Molungyimchen is the name of the village where the missionary first came. Soon some converts were made. The villagers did not like the Christians to stay in that village and so the Christians set up a new village called Molungyimsen (meaning new Molung village) some three miles north of the present village. The School was started in this new village.

in 1878 in Molungyimsen village and then at Impur in 1882. No formal school was started even many years thereafter except that the Missionary School grew up into a better one and was made into two Schools—one for boys and the other for girls. In 1885 the School was visited by one Mr. W. S. Clarke, the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar district of Assam. He has left the following note “I visited Mr. Clark’s boys’ and girls’ schools which are yet thinly attended. Education, however, had evidently commenced and the children read with fluency their Naga Primer and other first books and song hymns in Naga. Mr. Clark’s efforts have apparently been in the direction of reducing the language to a written form and to translate the New Testament and to compile a dictionary”.¹

At the beginning there was some sort of opposition from the local people to missionary activity but gradually they learnt the value of education and so helped the missionaries with materials and labour for construction of the School building. They also donated land for the School.

English script was used for writing the Ao language².

Gradually some more schools were opened and by 1893 there were eight Day Schools in the Ao area where 120 students on the average attended daily. By 1895 a total of 200 students were receiving education. It was all primary education but it helped the people greatly to write their own language in English script.

Gradually the Government also took interest and started giving grants-in-aid. A substantial source of income for managing these schools was the contribution of the local people and a good amount was coming from the Christian Mission. In 1889 the principal sources, and the income, for Mission Schools were the following.

1. Obscure,

2. Aos have four languages of which two are major. They are Chungli and Mongsen, and Chungli is the written language of the Aos, and the missionaries reduced this language into writing. The other two languages are Changki and Merinokpu. Changki is spoken by Changtu and Japu villages and Merinokpu is spoken by Merinokpu village only.

Direct contribution of the Nagas	= Rs. 126-5 annas
Indirect contribution of the Nagas	= Rs. 313/-
Government grant-in-aid	= Rs. 780/-
Mission contribution	= Rs. 730/-

It may be noted that the teachers in the Mission Schools were Assamese and Ao Nagas.

The Mission School at Impur gradually became a centre of education not only for the Aos but for others also, as people from other tribes started coming to this School, and gradually they opened Schools in their areas. Thus we see that in Naga Hills district the education first started in Ao area (present Mokokchung district) and from there it spread to other tribes.

In 1931 there were 52 Schools, all Primary, in Mokokchung Sub-Division which included present Wokha and Zunheboto districts. In 1936 there were 450 students in Impur School which by that time reached up to class VII.

One of the 52 Primary Schools was at Mokokchung town and it gradually became a Middle English School¹ and became a High School in 1943.

Present Position

During British time not much Government attention was paid towards education or any developmental works, and so the progress of education was slow. After Independence of India, the Assam Government looked into the matter and some more Primary Schools were opened, and wherever possible the Primary School was converted into Middle and the Middle School was converted into High School, in the then Naga Hills as a whole.

The district is hilly and the villages are sparsely situated and therefore unlike the plains of India one Primary School cannot serve several villages, because it is difficult for the young children to go to a distant School. Because of this situation and greater demand for education it was felt necessary to have one Primary School in each village. Following this need, after the formation

1. The medium of instruction in all the Schools was English but Assamese was a subject to be taught.

of NHTA, more and more schools were opened in the villages and wherever possible Primary and Middle Schools were converted into Middle and High Schools respectively. As a result of this thing at present, according to 1971 census, there are 90 Primary Schools in this district. It may be noted that there are 86 villages in this district and so each village has got a school and some villages have got more than one.

Apart from Primary Schools, there are 31 M. E. Schools, 8 Govt. High Schools 7 Private Schools as well as one Junior Teachers' Training Institute and a College in this district.

Details of the educational institutions are given below (as per 1971 census)

(a) PRIMARY SCHOOL

No.	Name of the circle	No of Schools
1.	Ongpangkong circle	23
2.	Chuchuyimlang „	9
3.	Tuli „	5
4.	Kabulong „	9
5.	Longchem „	21
6.	Mangkolemba „	1
7.	Changtongya „	8
8.	Alongkima „	10
9.	Mokokchung Town „	4
Total :		90

(b) GOVERNMENT M. E. SCHOOLS

Sl. No.	Name of the School	Location.
1.	Mokokchung Town	Mokokchung Town
2.	Khasilane	Khasi lane, Mokokchung Town,
3.	Mokokchung village	Mokokchung village
4.	Sabangya	Sabangya
5.	Ungma	Ungma
6.	Longmisa	Longmisa
7.	Chuchuyimpang	Chuchuyimpang

8. Longsa	—	Longsa
9. Mangmetong	—	Mangmetong
10. Longkhum	—	Longkhum
11. Alungchen	—	Alungchen
12. Molungyimjen	—	Molungyimjen
13. Asangma	—	Asangma
14. Mongchen	—	Mongchen
15. Changki	—	Changki
16. Mopongchukit	—	Mopongchukit
17. Mongsenyimti	—	Mongsenyimti
18. Merangkong	—	Merangkong
19. Arkakong	—	Arkakong
20. Kangtsung	—	Kangtsung
21. Khari	—	Khari
22. Longchang	—	Longchang
23. Alungtaki	—	Alungtaki
24. Dibua	—	Dibua
25. Waromong	—	Waromong
26. Yaongyimsen	—	Yaongyimsen
27. Khensa	—	Khensa
28. Luyong (Molungyimsen)	—	Luyong (Molungyimsen)
29. Kabza	—	Kabza
30. Chungliyimsen	—	Chungliyimsen
31. Yimchenkimong	—	Yimchenkimong

(c) GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOLS

Sl. No.	Name of the School	Location
1.	Government High School, Mokokchung	— Mokokchung
2.	Government High School, Ongpangkong (Yimyu)	— Yimyu.
3.	Government High School, Kubolong	— Kubolong
4.	Government High School, Chuchuyimlang	— Chuchuyimlang

- | | | |
|--|---|-------------|
| 5. Government High School, Mangkolemba | — | Mangkolemba |
| 6. Government High School, Alungkima | — | Alungkima |
| 7. Government High School, Changtongya | — | Changtongya |
| 8. Government High School, Longchem | — | Longchem |

(d) PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Name of the School		Location
1. Impur Clark Memorial High School	—	Impur
2. Baptist English School	—	Mokokchung
3. Model English School	—	Mokokchung
4. Kindergarden School	—	Mokokchung
5. New Venture School	—	Mokokchung
6. Edith Douglas English School	—	Mokokchung
7. Bethesda English School	—	Mokokchung

Most of the High Schools have been taken over by the Government in late 1960s to early 1970s. All these Schools are upto Class X and not beyond that.

(e) OTHER INSTITUTIONS

There is a Junior Teachers' Training Institute at Mokokchung town. It started in late 60s and has got provision of training of 100 students per year. It trains the Matriculate and Under Matric teachers of Primary and Middle Schools. It has got hostel facilities for all the trainees.

There is a College in Mokokchung town, Fazl Ali College, after the name of Fazl Ali a former Governor of Assam and Nagaland. It is an Arts College in the sense that it teaches only arts subjects as opposed to science subjects. It is situated in the Mokokchung Town area but some 5 km from the heart of the town, in the north of it.

Besides, there is one Bible College called Clark Memorial Theological College. It has recently been shifted from Impur to a beautiful and sunny place known as Aunglenden, about 5 km from Mokokchung town.

LITERACY AND STANDARD OF EDUCATION

Of all the Naga tribes, the Ao got education first and they have maintained the start. Christianity not only helped spread education but also greatly reduced the habit of the people of drinking rice-beer and it indirectly helped progress of education. As a result of this, the Aos have progressed much in the sphere of education and they have occupied many high posts of the Government of Nagaland. Without statistics also it can be said that the Aos who are the predominant inhabitants of this district are the most educated people of Nagaland. Generally percentage of literacy is the indicator for higher education too, and be it so the Aos top the list. For example, according to 1961 census the percentage of literacy of the then Kohima district was 20.91, Mokokchung district—29.63 and Tuensang district—4.47 and Nagaland over all was 17.91. According to 1971 census the figures are, Kohima 30.99 percent, Mokokchung 38.51 p. c. and Tuensang 13.31 p. c. Thus in both the cases Mokokchung has topped the list. But in former Mokokchung there were Wokha and Zunheboto areas and their percentage of literacy was lower than that of the Aos and therefore we can safely say that at present the percentage of literacy of Mokokchung district will be around 45.

Apart from regular schools there are several Adult literacy Centres in this district run by Directorate of Education and they train up adults, both male and female, for reading and writing. They hold classes in the evening and are doing good works.

Female Education

Naga society stands for equality of man and woman, and so do the Aos. In spite of the stand for equality it is a fact that the girls are more helpful in cultivation. Further, the women are to bear children and look after the family. For these reasons, as in the rest of the world, less importance used to be given for female education. However, the Ao girls are much more educated than their counterparts of other tribes, or even many other people of rest of India. According to 1961 census the percentage of female literacy in the former Mokokchung district was 21.84 as against 37.08 for male. Those figures are 10.81 and 29.87 respectively for

Kohima district, and 1.84 and 6.97 for Tuensang district. According to 1971 census the percentage of female literacy in former Mokokchung district was 29.82 as against 45.71 for male. Those figures are 18.79 and 40.80 respectively for Kohima district and 7.68 and 18.42 respectively for Tuensang district ¹. Thus all told, the female literacy of Mokokchung district according to 1971 census is 29.82, and since it included other backward people, it will be surely now in the neighbourhood of 35 percent if not more.

Educational Pattern

In Nagaland the school education is divided into three stages such as Primary, Middle and High. Then there is college education. We shall discuss them here one by one.

PRIMARY. Previously there were Lower and Upper Primary Schools but recently the Upper Primary system has been abolished and the former Lower Primary is now called simply Primary School. This Primary School has got classes A, B, I and II. The medium of this Schools is the local language, that is Chungli ² which is the common language of the Aos. Text books for Primary Schools have been produced by the Textbook Production Branch of the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland.

Formerly there used to be a public examination at the end of class II, for admission in class III, but with effect from the 1976-session that system has been abolished, and now the students of class II after passing the School's annual or promotion examination can get admission into class III.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOL. Between Primary and High School, there is a section of School which is known as Middle. Its medium is English and so it is called Middle English School or simply M. E. School. It has got classes III, IV, V & VI. Though its medium is English, in the lower classes often recourse is taken to mother tongue to explain things. but the examinations are conducted

get admission into class VII, but with effect from 1976-session that public examination system has been abolished. Instead a thing has been introduced which is in the half way between public examination and the School's own promotion examination. Under this system the students of class VI of an M. E. School are required to appear in the promotion examination of class VI of a nearby High School and the questions will be set by the said High School as well the results will also be declared by that very School. After passing this examination the students may get admission into class VII.

HIGH SCHOOL. High School has got four classes such as VII, VIII, IX and X and not beyond that, but often the institution includes M. E. section also, that is classes III to VI. The medium of instruction in the High School section is English and rarely any local language is used to explain things in the class because mostly the teachers of High School section are non-locals and the locals if any do not like to use local language since the medium is English. At the end of class X the students are required to sit for and pass the High School Leaving Certificate or HSLC examination, to get admission in the college. Classes XI and XII are not attached with schools but with colleges.

COLLEGE. Under the advice and guidance of the Central Government or more precisely the National Council of Educational Research and Training or NCERT, this State, like many other States, has accepted the pattern of school and college education as class 10+2+2 for graduation. This system has come into force from 1976. But unlike some other places, here in Nagaland the School education is upto Class X instead of Class XII, and Classes XI and XII are attached to College and it is called Pre-University or P.U. After passing P.U. (Arts or Science) the students require another two years for graduation. The colleges of this State are under North East Hill University or NEHU which is situated in Shillong.

This district has got only one College for general education in arts subjects as opposed to science subjects. It is called Fazl Ali College, as has been stated earlier.

Encouragement

The State Government is encouraging education as much as possible, and giving stipends to all the students (to tribals of course)

for prosecuting post-matric studies at the rate of Rs. 60/- p.m. per head for degree and post graduate course. Merit scholarship for first ten is also there and it covers up almost all the students of First Division. Then there are liberal stipends of Rs. 15/- p.m. for Middle School (Classes III to VI) and Rs. 20/- p.m. for High School (Classes VII to X). It is awarded on the basis of merit cum-economic condition.

Co-Curricular Activities

The Government of Nagaland has paid much attention towards co-curricular activities along with general education. Following this policy, in the Primary Schools, gardening, cleaning the compound or the village etc are done. In the Middle and High Schools, carpentry, smithy, agriculture etc for boys and weaving, knitting for girls are done. Physical training, gardening, cleaning etc are common to both boys and girls. Any particular School can not take up all these activities together and therefore individual School selects the subjects according to the facilities available. Many Schools have got a teacher specifically meant for physical fitness and he is called National Fitness Corps or NFC teacher.

Apart from those activities which are part of the course, debating, singing, socials etc are also encouraged and done. Cleaning the compound and or the village is also done occasionally. The cleaning activity as well as debating, singing, cultural activity etc are also done in the college.

Further, National Cadet Corps or NCC, Scouts and Guides have also been introduced in the Schools as well as in the College of this district.

Hindi Education

Following the need of Hindi education the Directorate of Education has introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in Classes V to VIII but examination therein is still optional.

Games And Sports

The Directorate of Education has been paying good attention towards improvement of games and sports, and for that there is a

separate branch called Physical Education Department in the Directorate of Education. It has got a district level Officer also who is called District Sports Officer. This Department organises annual Games and Sports for the whole State and it is joined by all the Government Schools compulsorily. The students of this district fare very well in the State level competition. Apart from this, every school holds its annual games and sports. In some Schools there is an NFC teacher and he guides the students in all games and sports. In some schools there are coaches for training the students in football, basket ball, table-tennis, badminton etc.

Educational Set Up

All the Schools, such as Primary, Middle and High as well as the Colleges of the State are under the over all control of the Director of Education of the State, and the appointment of all the staff, except gazetted, is made by the Director. (Appointment of Gazetted Officer, as in other States, is made by the Government in the name of the Governor).

Primary and Middle Schools are under the direct and day-to-day control of the Deputy Inspector of Schools of which there is one in Mokokchung. He is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer for both these two categories of School. He inspects the Middle Schools but the Primary Schools are inspected by Sub-Inspector of Schools of which there are three under the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

The Headmaster of a Government High School is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer for his staff and he is under the direct control of the Director of Education except for tours for which he is under the control of the Inspector of Schools of which there is only one ¹ in the whole State and he is attached to the Directorate. He is the inspecting authority of High Schools also, but the High Schools are also often visited by the Director and Assistant Director of Education.

Training

There is a Junior Teachers' Training Institute or J.T.T.I. at Mokokchung and it trains the Matric and under-Matric teachers of Primary and Middle Schools of this district. It also caters to the

1. At present (1979) there are three Inspectors of Schools and they are placed at Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang.

needs of Zunheboto and Wokha districts ¹. For B. Ed the teachers are to come to Kohima where there is the Nagaland College of Education for B. Ed training for the whole State.

CULTURE

Literature

The Aos got education first among all the tribes of this State and so they have produced much more literature, though mostly religious, than any other tribes have done.

The local people of this district, that is the Aos, have got four distinct languages such as Chungli, Mungsen, Changki and Merinokpu of which Chungli has been accepted by the people as the language for reading and writing for the entire tribe. This language, has been reduced to writing in Roman script. Of course the speakers of other languages also write theirs in the same very script.

The first book in Ao language is perhaps a Hymnal, an adaptation of English Hymns by Godhula Babu (Kutula Babu) published in 1879. Mr Clark's works including Catechism, Hymnbook and two Gospels were also ready for the press by this time.

Among others, Clark translated some portions from the Scriptures such as the Acts, Corinthians (First Epistle), the Psalm, and Lord's Prayer, and wrote a book entitled Life of Joseph.

His wife, Mrs Clark, also wrote a book entitled Grammar With Phrases And Vocabulary On Ao Language which contained 181 pages and was published in 1893. It was printed in the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong.

However, the most eminent of E.W. Clark's works was the Ao-English Dictionary which was published by Baptist Mission Press in 1911.

After its formative stage many more religious books were written and many of them are by foreigners and many more are

1. There are two other JTT's in this State, one each at Chiechama (in Kohima district) and Tuensang. They cater to the needs of the respective district and its former components.

also written by the local people. Some of the later books are regarding tradition and culture of the Ao people, some text books, some stories and even a few of them are love stories. A list of important publication is given in the Appendix.



APPENDIX I

LIST OF RELIGIOUS BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS ETC

(In Ao language except otherwise mentioned)

1. Church History, published by the C.B.C.N.E.I. (English).
2. Beginning Of Christianity In Ao Area sponsored by Molungyimchen church in 1954 (English)
3. Beginnig Of Christian Works In Khari Village by Imong Ao. (Eng)
4. Ao Khristan Tetenzuk Otsu by A. Olemjungba published, in 1955.
5. Christian Parenthood by Nokden Ao, published by the Ao Association in 1961. (English)
6. Preparation Of Sermons by T. Aten Ao, published by Ao Association in 1961. (English)
7. Every Day Life, published by Scripture Gift Mission. (Eng)
8. Worship of God, published by Scripture Gift Mission. (Eng)
9. Ni ku Arogo Yangertsu by Kiremwati and published by Alemchiba.
10. Teyazu Christan Tamanger Yimsu by Likok Ao, published By ABAM¹ in 1964.
11. Tejangja Tekumtet by A.Rikum Ao published by A.B.A.M. in 1966,
12. Ordination In Baptist Church by R. Keitzar, published by A.B.A.M. in 1966.
13. Child Evangelism by R.Keitzar, published by A.B.A.M. in 1966. (Eng)
14. Personal Growth In Christian Life by Nokden Ao.
15. Pilgrim's Progress translated by Ao Mungdang.
16. Nokinketer Mongchen by Kijungluba, published by Ao Mungdang.
17. Arogo Nung Tanela Temeshi Mapa by Rev. Rikum.

1. A.B.A.M = Ao baptist Arogo Mungdang.

18. Revival History, Evangelism & Mission by Evangelist T. Alemmeren Ao. (English)
19. Tesangwa Takum, translated into Ao by Miss S. Bendangla.
20. Merangkong Arogo Tentenzuk Otsu by Pongimeren, published by Merangkong Arogo in 1954.
21. Nu Lemang Asoshi Milen Ka by A. Temjen Pastor.
22. Khristan Indang Tesayuba Tatsu Agi, translated by P. Narola.
23. Biblei Melaba Yimsu Nung Sayutsungiba, published by T. Aten Ao.
24. Counsellor Indang Tesayuba by T. Subong Pastor.
25. Tajung Pastor Aser Arogo published by Pastor Temjen (approved by ABAM).
26. Khristan Ketdangsuba Tesayuba edited by T. Likok.
27. Tenzukertem Leniba by I. Longsa Evangelist.
28. Temeshi Lai Okila by I. Nokjenba Pastor.
29. Israel-i Yirusalem Yanglushir by A. Temjen Pastor.
30. Ketdangsuba Tasa Leniba by I. Longsa Evangelist.
31. Khrista Alima Takum Alidang Tatepangba Hapta by A. Temjen Pastor.
32. Deacon Mapang Aser Khritan Tagutsuba by A. Temjen Pastor.
33. Ajungketba Taneptsu by N. Toshi,
34. Khristan Tzurabur by Nokden Ao.
35. Aor Temeshi Laishiba Jakzukba Indang Okila Tatsuka by Renthly Keitzar.
36. Sarasadem Aser Takok by I. Longsa Evangelist
37. Ibai Alurua Lir (Sermon on The Centennial Church in Ao land 1872-1972) by A. Temjen Pastor.
38. Temang Shirangshikoba Aser Tsungremer Tanuptsu by A. Temjen Pastor.
39. Khristan Arigo Otsu Okila by Rev. A. Rikum Ao.
40. Tehkumted Lemang Temetong (The Plain way of Salvation).
41. Baptist Tamang by T. Likok.
42. Laisher Mungchen (Nagaland Mezungbubu Arogo Otsu) by A. Olem Kilep, Pastor.



An Ao in ceremonial dress.



Ao dance.

APPENDIX II

SECULAR BOOKS AND LITERATURE

(In Ao language except otherwise mentioned)

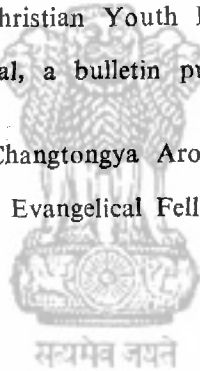
1. Senti Rongsen by T. Tsuknung Penzu.
2. Aor Otsuolem by T. Tsuknung Penzu.
3. Mungdangi Aor Otsu by T. Tsuknung Penzu.
4. Aor Tatakrutsu (parables bearing moral lessons) by Intilepden ex-Pandit.
5. Ao Tarnunger Otzu Kakut (Ao folk tale) by N. Tali Jamir.
6. Jina Aser Etiben Otzu (a true love story with dramatic episodes) by I. Sashimeren Aier.
7. Pentojepjep Ritsung by Chubanungba (also a true war story).
8. Aor Sobaliba by Imtisupong.
9. Akumlir Wadang by Imtisupong
10. Gandhiji by Mayangnokcha.
11. In memory of our Ancestors Who Redeem Us For Today by Tajen Ao (English).
12. Ao Naga Customary Law by Tanjen Ao (English).
13. Nagas On The Cross-road by Tajen Ao (in English).
14. The Dawn by Chubatoshi Jamir (in English).
15. A Brief Historical Account Of Nagaland by M. Alemchiba (in English).
16. Ao Vernacular (Ao Tetezu ratetsuba Kakut) by L. Imti Aier.
17. Tanu by K. Talitemsu Ao.

APPENDIX III

PERIODICALS, JOURNALS AND BULLETINS

(In Ao language)

1. Ao Milen (Ao Torchlight) sponsored by the Ao Students Union.
2. ABAM (Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang) a quarterly bulletin.
3. Lanur Teimla by Christian Youth Endeavour.
4. The Hour of Revival, a bulletin published by Ao Mungdang Evangelism, Impur.
5. Medemer Shity by Changtongya Arogo.
- 6 Remnant by Layman Evangelical Fellowship.



CHAPTER XVI

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

THE BACKGROUND

The district adjoins the plains of Assam and therefore long before the people of this district came under the administration, they had trade relations with Assam. Naturally they might have come under the influence of modern medicine long before any medical institution was established in this district.

Christianity was introduced in this district in 1872 and within next four years E. W. Clark came to settle in Impur. One Kutula Babu, an Assamese gentleman, came in 1872, four years before Dr. Clark, and brought some medicine with him. Dr. Clark not only introduced Christianity but also used to give allopathy medicines to the people for various ailments, as much as he could. This is the beginning of introduction of modern medicine in this district. Before this time there was no allopathy, homeopathy, Ayurvedic or Unani treatment of diseases in this area. It does not mean that the people did not have any kind of medical treatment, because they had their own indigenous way of treating cases.

This district as a whole, except its lower villages on the border of Assam plains, enjoys salubrious climate, as the rest of Nagaland does. Being on the average 1500 metre above sea level, the climate is cool and devoid of dust. Thus ecologically it is an ideal place for living. On the other hand the people, in their daily life, are required to do plenty of exercise in the process of cultivating the land, as well as they take plenty of rest by going to bed early. They also get up early in the morning and get fresh air and ozone there. On the other hand they take plenty of meat, fresh vegetable and they cook by simply boiling. All these things go to make the people healthy and they are really so, as other hill-people are.

Though apparently the people possess good health, they suffer from all the diseases as the plains people do, but only less in number and intensity. The reason of their being apparently healthy and at the

same time being prone to be attacked by various diseases is probably lack of proper sanitary conditions. Another reason is this that the poor people's food does not contain all the necessary food-values and as such it is poor as a food. Further, the people often get contaminated from the plains of Assam where they do occasionally go and the heat of which they can not stand. Thus for all these reasons the people of this district get diseases equally with others.

However, since the people get disease and sickness, they do have their own way of treatment. Like all other primitive tribes as well as early civilised people, the Aos like the other Nagas, do have a number of plants and herbs for medicinal use. The efficacy of these herbs and plants as well as meat, liver, bile etc of different animals have not yet been tested by modern science, but yet it does have a good effect on the patient. It is quite natural, because the people have discovered those recipes through experience of generation after generation.

Besides this herbal and organic cure the people often depend on magic cure also. In almost every village a person, male or female, is found who can perform this magic-cure of the diseases. Such a medicine-man is called Arasentsur. He or she cures a patient by taking out some stuff such as a mass of hair, juice, chewed leaves, bones, pebbles etc apparently from the body of the patient without leaving any sign of its place of emergence. It seems as if actually those things have been taken out of the patient, and probably as a matter of faith-cure, the patient often gets better.

Often, not only the tribal people, but most other people, believe in evil spirits and attribute sickness and wound etc to such a malevolent spirit, and the Aos are no exception. To cure the patient of the sickness, the spirit is propitiated by offering chicken, pork, rice-beer etc. This offering is done generally by Arasentsur or any other person who knows how to do it.

These are the old practices and are still found in the villages.

Christianity has exerted a tremendous influence on the life and belief of the people. But traditions die hard. And so many Christians still believe in those evil spirits of the jungle and many Christians have modified the evil spirit into Satan. Thus the effect of the belief

almost remains the same. And the result is this that many of the untoward happenings are attributed to the working of the Satan. Also in some cases the belief in evil spirit side by side with Satan continues. So in short, Satan and malevolent spirit are held responsible for some sicknesses, and accidents etc.

VITAL STATISTICS

Statistics in respect of birth and death for the present or old Mokokchung district are not available. But it appears that neither birth rate nor death rate is high. As early as 1905-06, B. C. Allen in his gazetter for Naga Hills has written : "In the absence of all statistics it is difficult to say whether the death rate is high or not. The Nagas do not increase rapidly in numbers, but this may be due possibly to more to a low birth rate than to a high mortality". Again J. H. Hutton has stated, that "The occupants of a Naga house seldom exceed five in numbers, a man and his wife with perhaps two or three children, perhaps an aged and widowed parent, perhaps a younger brother still unmarried—such is the usual family. Children are not numerous, and owing perhaps to a high death rate among infants it is the exception to see more than three children to a family". So from the assessment of those two writers and from the personal knowledge of this writer it appears that there used to be high infant mortality but not high death rate of grown up people, and that is why the population of the then Naga Hills did not grow quickly. But now, in the last quarter of 20th century, the position has changed and due to increased availability of medical help, infant mortality has declined. As a result, nowadays more children, even five to seven, are found in each house and the population is growing fast. It is simply proved by the fact that the decade variation of population of Nagaland as a whole between 1961 and 1971 was plus 39.88 percent against all India level of plus 24.75 p.c.

Causes Of Death

Statistics are not available as to the causes of death, but it appears that except infant mortality, untimely death is not much. However, the main causes of untimely death or death of grown up people are diseases and accidents. The diseases which are causing death ultimately are generally pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery etc common diseases. Of the accidents, the most common is falling

from tree and then comes drowning. Falling from tree occurs during slashing the trees for jhum cultivation. Drowning occurs while fishing or fording a turbulent hill river. Suicide is practically absent.

Longevity

No statistics are available for longevity or for that the number of people living in different age groups. However, it is seen from day today life that many old men and women are leading very active life and going to the field very regularly. If they are asked their age, they will simply say that they do not know it as it is not recorded or their parents or themselves did not know the counting. However, some of them will gladly inform that they have seen the German Dhawai, that is German War, that is the First Great War of 1914-18. It means they are now in their 70s or 80s. Therefore it may be concluded that the average longevity of grown up people is 70 to 75 years. At the same time the longevity of old women is perhaps a few years more than that of the average.

DISEASES COMMON IN THE DISTRICT

Since the climate is salubrious and the living condition of the people is plain, it appears that the people should not suffer much from diseases. But in actual life the picture is otherwise, that is, the people suffer from all the diseases as the plains people do. It is so, probably because the people get contaminated from the plains people, as well as their living condition is unhygienic. Diseases like small pox, cholera, dysentery, malaria etc were endemic in the plains of Assam, and the people of this district while visiting plains used to get it and spread in his village in the hills. This way many of the diseases used to get spread in the hills, otherwise these diseases are not very common.

It may be noted that being a cold place, the incidence of cholera is less. Small pox has practically been eradicated and malaria has very much been controlled. But the more common diseases of this district are pneumonia, influenza, bronchitis, asthma, dysentery, worms, measles, mumps, goitre, tuberculosis (mainly of lungs), typhoid, skin diseases, diarrhoea, eye and dental diseases etc. Of all these things stomach trouble of various kinds is more common and it appears mainly during March-April when the pre-monsoon rains wash down the impurities and bacteria of the earth to the water sources and the people drink it. Another cause of stomach trouble is taking too much chilli. Also the

people often suffer from worms, often tape-worms. It is probably due to eating insufficiently cooked, often burnt, beef and pork.

Hospitals And Dispensaries

The first allopathy medicine made its appearance in this district in Impur in 1882 when Clark brought some medicine with him and started giving it to the people for various ailments. It was not at all a dispensary but no doubt it is the beginning in however rudimentary form it may be.

In the early days of British administration the first hospital in the then Naga Hills was started at Wokha where the first headquarter of the district was set up in 1876. It was a 4-bedded hospital and was probably started in the very year of the headquarter being set up there. In 1889 a dispensary was set up in Mokokchung. Gradually it grew up into a hospital. However, after the Independence of India, greater attention was paid towards the needs of the people and so towards establishing more hospitals. Following this benevolent attitude of the Government the Mokokchung hospital grew into a bigger one, year by year. Latter, in 1961, the hospital has been renamed as Dr. Imkongliba Memorial Hospital in memory of Dr. Imkongliba Ao who was loved by the people but was killed by some unknown persons. The plan of the renovated hospital was a big one and since it could not be set up in the heart of the town, a separate portion of the town was earmarked for the hospital and the hospital was set up there in 1969. It is fairly a big area and has got 75 beds in the hospital with adequate doctors and nurses to manage it. It has got a 50-bedded T.B. hospital also attached to it. The hospital is provided with all modern facilities for operation and the services are conducted in surgical, medical, maternity and gynaecological lines. In the year 1967-68, over 20,644 patients were treated in this hospital in both indoor and outdoor. Another feature of the medical service of this district is this that attached with the hospital there is a unit of 20-bedded mobile hospital which can be set up within 48 hours anywhere within the district which is accessible by road.

After Independence gradually some more hospitals, mostly 12-bedded, have been set up in different places such as Chuchuyimlang Compound, Khari, Changki (MCW)¹, Longpha (MCW), and Changtongya Station.

1. MCW—Maternity and Child Welfare Centre.

Apart from the hospitals, there are a number of dispensaries dotted over the district. The names of the Hospitals and dispensaries as in 1976 are given below ¹.

- (a) Hospitals (Government and No. of beds. Staff
1. Mokokchung Civil Hospital—75 beds

1	Medical Superintendent
5	Medical Officers
1	Lady Medical Officer
1	Dental Surgeon
1	Matron
3	Nursing Sisters
15	Staff nurses and 41 other staffs.
 2. Chuchuyimlang Civil Hospital—12 beds

1	Medical Officer
2	Staff nurses
15	Auxiliary nurse-cum-midwife.
1	Pharmacist, and
15	Other staffs.
 3. Longchang Civil Hospital—12 beds As above
 4. Mokokchung T. B. Hospital, 50 beds. It has 3 Medical Officers, 1 Lady Medical Officer, 1 Dental Surgeon, 2 Nursing Sisters, 10 Staff Nurses and 34 other staffs.
- (b) Big Dispensary (Government) Staff
1. Lakhuni
 2. Chungliyimsen
 3. Merangkong Station
 4. Changtongya Station
- For all the big dispensaries staffing pattern is same. Each dispensary has got the following Staff : 1 Medical Officer, 1 Pharmacist, 1 Auxiliary nurse-cum-midwife and 6 other staffs.

1. Source : Directorate of Health Services, Government of Nagaland.

(c) Small Dispensary (Government).

1. Mongsenyimti
2. Mopungchukit
3. Longsa
4. Waromong
5. Changki
6. Sabangya
7. Longmisa
8. Khari
9. Kubolong
10. Mokokchung Town
11. Lirmen
12. Ungma
13. Molongyimchen
14. Sangratsu
15. Mangmetong
16. Ongpangkong
17. Chungtia
18. Aliba
19. Yaongyimti
20. Tuli Station
21. Kangtsung tuluba
22. Shihapumi
23. Longchem
24. Alongdaki
25. Mangkolemba
26. Yaongyimsen
27. Merangkong village

Staffing pattern is same for all the dispensaries. Each dispensary has got 1 Pharmacist, 1 Auxiliary nurse-cum-midwife and 6 other staff.



Also there is a Christian Mission Hospital at Impur with 30 beds under the charge of a Medical Superintendent with adequate staff. It made its humble beginning in 1918 as a dispensary. Since then it has expanded and improved greatly and is rendering a good service to

the people. This hospital being associated with missionary work plays a great role in the rural community.

Other Health Services

Though all round development of this area started after Independence, it was actually after 1957 when the NHTA was formed that the impetus of developmental works got momentum. Since then, along with other developments, sufficient attention has been paid towards medical care. Accordingly programme for eradication of small pox and work for National Malaria Eradication Programme were taken up with due enthusiasm and earnestness. Along with these works the campaign for B.C.G. vaccination against possible attack of Tuberculosis was also taken up. These works are directed and guided by the Directorate of Medical and Health Services of the State.

The hospitals and dispensaries of this district are controlled and supervised by the Civil Surgeon of the district who is stationed at Mokokchung Town.

Sanitation

The sanitary condition of the villages, the villagers being poor and uneducated, is not satisfactory. The houses are closely situated and there are domestic animals such as cows and pigs which by their excreta soil the land. Nowadays, of course, most of the Ao villages keep the cows outside the village. However, the pigs at least continue to pollute the villages. The people do not have latrines in the village itself but have community latrines outside it. It is good for sanitation. But since the houses are congested in sanitary condition is bound to develop and so it is there. But it has to be mentioned that Ao villagers are sanitarily far better than many other Naga villages.

Formerly most of the villages used to suffer from shortage of water supply, particularly in lean season. Nowadays some villages have got piped water supply, or at least pucca tank has been constructed at the water source. But still then there are some villages which do not have proper arrangement of drinking water. Naturally they depend on the water holes around the village and these for very natural reasons are not good for health. Though

the holes have got nulla all round it so that outside water cannot enter into it, yet it gets polluted by uncareful washing of clothes and bathing near about.

Villages do not have any drainage, but then in the hills all the waters run away and no water stands stagnant.

The people chew pan very much and often spit on the ground where they sit, or the wall nearby.

The people in the administrative out posts or in the town live better and their sanitary condition is improved. As a result they suffer less than the poor villagers.



CHAPTER XVII

OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES

The district came under the influence of Christianity and modern civilisation in the last quarter of the last century. Before that the people did not have any kind of social service organisation. After that also there has not grown up any such organisation mainly because there was no need for such a service as most of the works were done by the Government. Here the Government is not only benevolent but practically all pervading and so helps the people in all possible ways. That is why no social service organisation has grown up except religious.

Christianity has taught the people many good things and under its influence the people have given up some of the bad habits and superstitions. In this district the Christians constitute overwhelming percentage of the total population, and almost cent percent of the tribals. And many of them are connected with various Christian organisations. Young people of both the sexes are very enthusiastic about their religion and activities connected with it. The grown up and old people are of practical nature and some of them are also connected with various religious organisations. The non-Christians are mainly floating people and belong to various religions but they are mainly Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

The Hindus have got several temples scattered all over the district but most of them are maintained by the Assam Rifles. In Mokokchung town itself there is a fine pucca temple of the Assam Rifles and it is visited by many people for worship. The temple houses several Gods and Goddesses.

The second pucca Hindu Temple (Laxmi Narayan Temple) has been constructed in Mokokchung town and has been inaugurated in 1977. It also attracts many visitors and worshippers.

There are several Gurdwaras in this district but mostly they are maintained by the jawans of the army posts. In Mokokchung town also there is one Gurdwara but it is not yet pucca.

Muslims have got one mosque in Mokokchung town.

CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS

In all the 86 villages of this district there is at least one church in each, and in big villages there are more. In Mokokchung town there are several churches, belonging one to each language group such as Sema, Lotha etc as well as about ten Ao churches belonging to different denominations. But of all the churches of this town the Ao Baptist Church, situated in the heart of the town, is the most important and imposing one.

Each church is managed by the respective Church Council. Here it may be mentioned that majority of the churches rather overwhelming majority of them belong to American Baptist Mission denomination, but there are a few other denominations such as Assembly of God, Pentecostalist etc and each of them, wherever the number of converts justifies, does have their separate churches.

Each church holds its services several days in a week of which Sunday is a must. During the service money is collected from the congregation in a box as Tithes and Offerings. This money goes to Church Council which has got other sources of income too. Church fund is utilised for not only Church activity but also for other charitable activities, such as helping a needy. It is also used to help some needy people for prosecuting Bible study or even general study. Membership fee from each Christian is collected every year and it goes to the Baptist Mission Centre who controls the area.

Apart from its religious and charitable activities the Church Council is also the guardian of morality and social order of the village or community. In case of pregnancy before marriage of Christian couple, the couple are ex-communicated from the church. It is a shame to be ex-communicated and so the young couple restrain themselves to some extent in premarital sexual life, or are careful about it. However, if the couple deny any pre-marital sexual activity but a baby is born before usual time then also the couple are ex-communicated. Apart from ex-communication in occasional revivalism confession is done and that also helps a lot to maintain social morality. All these things together exert a great influence on the society. But some young men and women, some of whom care little for morality, do not abide by all the high Christian principles

of life. But anyway in the villages Christian church is a very powerful and important organisation, and in the town also it is important and influential.

In the town and even in the villages there are different organisations relating to Christianity, such as Christian Youth Endeavour, Sunday School Union, Women Christian Association, Ao Baptist Association, Sema Baptist Association etc. All these organisations endeavour to intensify the religious activity as well as help its spread. All these organisations are charitable in character.

STUDENTS UNION

Like Christian organisations there are Students Unions. Since Independence of India, and more so after the formation of NHTA and State of Nagaland there has been a great awakening in the field of education. The first group of educated people wanted to get the next generation educated and in turn they wanted to see their children educated. Thus it led to a vigorous progress of education. Along with education came consciousness and it led to formation of Students Unions. Since many people were not educated, the students considered themselves leaders of the society and it was accepted in general. Students are cream of the society and they wanted to improve the condition of the society in all possible ways. And hence they formed Students Unions wherever possible. It may be mentioned that first Ao Students Union was organised in 1929 and they are going to have the Golden Jubilee of the Ao Students Union this year, i.e. 1979.

There is an Ao Students Union. It includes all the Ao students. Apart from the local Schools and Colleges, the students read in Shillong and other towns. In Shillong and Nagaland etc cold places there is the system of winter vacation when the educational institutions remain closed for about three months from mid-December to mid-March. During this winter vacation all the students gather and hold its conference once in a year. In this conference they pass resolutions which concern the Ao community as a whole or for the whole district. Such resolutions are given much weight by the Government as well as the political and social leaders. Such Conferences also stage cultural shows and it goes towards advancement

of culture. It may be mentioned that the Ao Students Union is not based on any ism or attached to any all-India political party and as such their focal point is the Ao community and its all round developments. There is a Naga Students Federation for the entire State of Nagaland and Ao Students Union is a part of it.

Like the Ao Students Union which is a horizontal organisation, there are Students Unions for each range. All the students of a particular range are its members and they also meet and pass resolutions in the same way, in respect of their range, and it is also given much weight by the elders.

Similarly there are village Students Unions and they also work in the same way in respect of their villages.

Aos are most advanced educationally among the Nagas and likewise they are socially more conscious than others. As a result of this political or social consciousness wherever there are some Ao students, in any School or College, they form a Students Union there. Such groups work for their community and occasionally hold cultural shows, sometimes to the displeasure of the local people among whom such institution is situated, as it happened once in Wakching School (Konyak area) in 1966.

GANDHI ASHRAM

Among other social services mention may be made of Gandhi Ashram. It is situated in Chuchuyimlang village and was established by a social worker in 1954-55. In 1957 the Ashram started a vocational school to impart training in carpentry and tailoring. A library was also opened in 1963.

It also started the programme of bee-keeping and production of Gur and Khandsari sugar. These works were taken up in collaboration or rather under the control of the Khadi And Village Industries Commission which has got its office in Kohima. The Ashram is getting liberal grants-in-aid from both Central and the State Governments. The achievements of Gandhi Ashram are given in Appendix.

KHADI COMMISSION

Like other states, in this State also there is a Khadi And Village Industries Commission. It has got its office in Kohima and it is under the regional office of Gauhati. It has taken up various works of which the most important ones are bee-keeping and running an emporium.

It supplies artificial bee-hives and other implements to the interested persons on subsidy varying from 75% to 100% ¹. It also helps the persons in marketing his produce. The Commission also runs an emporium in Mokokchung town wherein are sold various local articles of interest.

The Commission is contemplating to take up village industries scheme vigorously.

DISTRICT SOLDIERS' SAILORS' AND AIRMEN'S BOARD

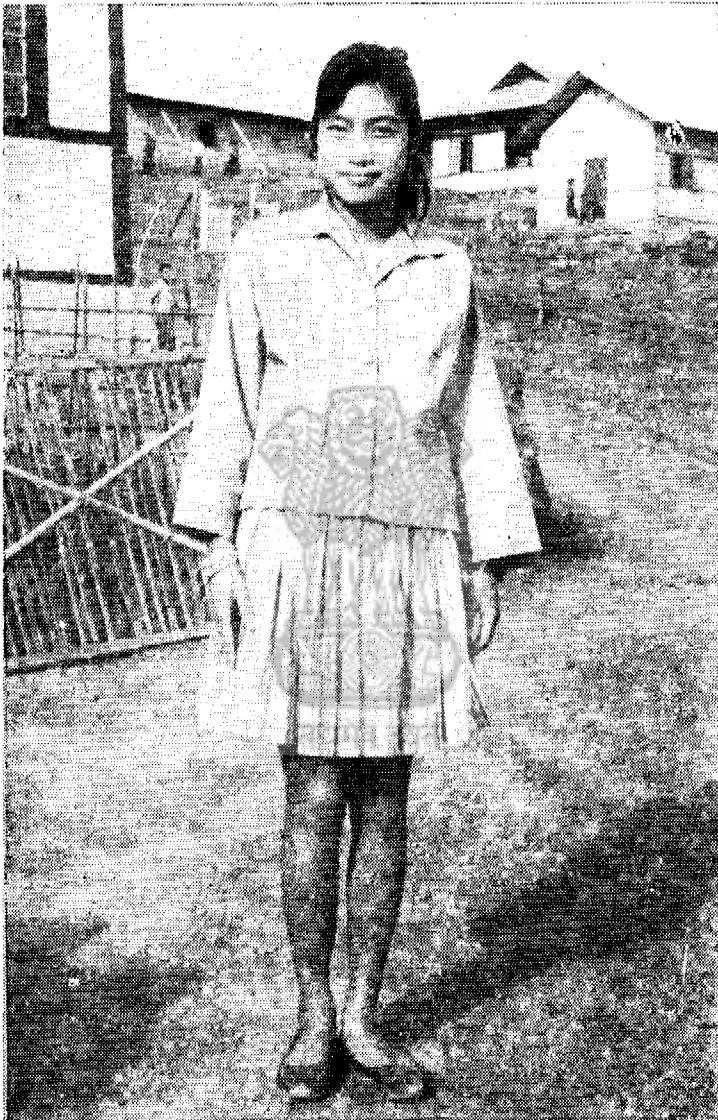
Following the pattern in other places a District Soldiers' Sailors' and Airmen's Board has been set up in this district on 1st August 1969. Its objects are same with similar Boards of other places which may be summed up as looking into the welfare of service men. It also disseminates the various information to the ex-service men as well as it tries to bring about a better relation based on factual understanding between the service men and the public. The Board also supplies information to the prospective recruits for recruitment in the Army, Navy and Air Force. It also takes up the cases of ex-servicemen or their widowed family with the Government authority for settling pension cases or litigation etc. In short it works for the welfare of the ex-servicemen. The Board is constituted with the following members.

- 1) The Recruiting Officer of the area or an Officer nominated by him.
- 2) Superintendent of Police.

1. Bee-hives are sold at Rs. 15/- (fifteen) each. Tools for carpentry and black smithy are sold at 75% subsidy while that for cobbler is given altogether free. Atta Chaki is given at 75% subsidy.



An old Ao woman smoking tobacco in pipe.



A modern Ao girl.

- 3) District Employment Exchange Officer.
- 4) President, District Council.
- 5) Inspector of Schools.
- 6) Six members nominated by the President from among persons who take keen and active interest in the recruitment to, and welfare of, the Armed forces, at least two of them being ex-service men.



APPENDIX

A few relevant statistics of the Bee-keeping programme (as of 31-3-68) conducted by Gandhi Ashram, Chuchuyimlang, are given below :

1) Total number of villages covered upto 31-3-68	26
2) Total number of bee-colonies established upto 31-3-68	245
3) Total amount of honey extracted from the inception of the programme upto 31-3-68	1,420 kgs
4) Total amount of honey extracted during 1967-68	464 kgs
5) Number of villagers (bee-keeping) benefitted	184
6) Total number of sub-stations existing at the end of the year 1967-68	7
7) Number of Bee-hives distributed on subsidy during 1967-68	82
8) Total hives distributed on subsidy since inception upto 31-3-68	338

The statistics of the last crushing season of sugar cane are as follows :

1) Period of entire operation	—	1st January to 28 February 1967.
2) Actual crushing & processing	—	9th February '67.
3) Total amount of sugarcane procured and crushed upto March 1968.	—	25,933 kgs.
4) The total amount of Gur produced upto March 1968.	—	1,939 kgs.
5) The total amount of Khandsari sugar produced during the first (and the only) trial	—	60 kgs.

CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC LIFE AND VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

Even after Independence until the constitution came into force, the then Naga Hills, a district of Assam, was an excluded area and so was not represented in Assam Assembly in the pre-Independence days.

After the Constitution came into force, the first general election of Assam Assembly took place, along with the rest of the country, in 1952, and in that election Naga Hills was allotted three Assembly seats. But the Nagas did not participate in this election and so Naga Hills remained unrepresented in the Assam Assembly in the first general election, 1952.

In the second general election to the Assembly (Assam has got only one House), 1957, three Nagas returned from Naga Hills uncontested and so this time also no voting took place. One of this three MLAs was an Ao of the present Mokokchung district (two others were one Sema and one Angami).

But in the meantime Tuensang Frontier Division of North East Frontier Agency was taken out and added to Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) on 1st December 1957. As a result of creation of this new administrative unit under the Central Government, Naga Hills ceased to be a part of Assam and naturally those three MLAs quitted from Assam Assembly.

On 18th August, 1960, the Prime-Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared in the Parliament that a new State to be called NAGALAND would be established within Indian Union comprising the area of NHTA. During the transitional period there would be an Interim Body. Later there will be a Legislative Assembly and the State should be under the Ministry of External Affairs ¹.

1. Report on the First General Election, 1963, (Nagaland) p-2 (the booklet is named so, though the election took place in 1964).

Soon after this, in February 1961, the NHTA became a de-facto State under the name Nagaland and a de-facto Assembly known as Interim Body started functioning from 18th February, 1961. The Interim Body had 42 members but they were not elected but selected by consensus. It had a 5-member Executive Council as a de-facto Ministry. There were three Ao members in the Interim Body and one of them was the Chief Executive Councillor ¹.

Life of the Interim Body was four years and during this period it had 10 sessions from 17th May, 1961 to 18th November, 1963. During this period the Government paid attention towards the preparation of the first general election to the Nagaland Assembly. For that the delimitation of the constituencies was taken in hand. According to the advice of the Election Commission, three persons were deputed by the Interim Body and two others were nominated by the Central Government to Co-operate with the Commission in the works of delimitation of constituencies ².

According to Nagaland Act (Act No. 73 of 1962) which created the State of Nagaland, it was decided that the Nagaland Assembly would have 40 elected members from Kohima and Mokokchung district, and Tuensang would send six representatives to be selected by the Tuensang Regional Council from among themselves ³. Thus the Assembly would have 46 members. It was also decided that Tuensang district would remain a special responsibility of the Governor for ten years after the creation of the State ⁴ and there after Nagaland will have a 60-member Assembly, all directly elected on the basis of adult franchise and single member constituency of about six thousand population each ⁵.

Following this decision of the Nagaland Act, the Government started the work for delimitation of 40 Assembly constituencies of Kohima and Mokokchung districts for the first general election to be held in 1964, and so the Delimitation Commission

1. Chief Executive Councillor was P. Shilu Ao and the Chairman of the Interim Body was Dr. Imkongliba Ao.

2. Report on First General Election 1963 (Nagaland, p-3-4).

3. Ibid. p 3

4. Ibid, p-4

5. Ibid, p-4

was set up in June, 1963. In this delimitation of constituencies Kohima district had 19 seats and Mokokchung 21. Of the 21, Zunheboto Sub-Division had six and Wokha Sub-Division had five and the rest, that is 10, belonged to Mokokchung Sub-Division which is now the district.

FIRST GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1964

Even before the Delimitation Commission was set up, the Government started preparation for the election machinery and got two of its Circle Officers trained by Assam Government. No separate Chief Electoral Officer was appointed as yet but the responsibility was given to I. Sashimeren Aier over and above his own duty as the Additional Development Commissioner, and an election branch was set up with some staff.

Party And Symbol

At the time of the first general election of Nagaland Assembly, 1964, there was no political party in the State and so there was no party symbol. However, for the use of the candidates, some six free symbols were issued by the Election Commission and they were Cock, Elephant, Hornbill, Mithun, Mug and Tiger.

Constituencies And Candidates

The ten constituencies of this district (then Sub-Division) were : Tuli, Arkakong, Yisemyong, Mongoya, Mokokchung Town, Aunglenden, Koridang, Impur, Jangpetkong and Alongtaki, and they were all as stated earlier, single seated. Of the ten seats, 4 were uncontested ¹ and the rest were contested by two each. The results of uncontested seats were declared on 21st December, 1963, the last date of withdrawal of candidature. The polling took place on 11th, 13th and 15th January, 1964 and the results were declared on 18th January, 1964. Details of the poll are given next page. Voting was by balloting.

1. The uncontested seats were; Arkakong, Yisemyong, Impur and Alongtaki (Report on the First General Election, 1963. p-19).

Sl. No.	Constituency	Voters	Votes Polled	Valid Votes	% of Poll	Invalid Votes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Tuli	2317	1743	1743	75.22	Nil
2.	Arkakong	2946	Uncontested	—	—	—
3.	Yisemyong	2496	Uncontested	—	—	—
4.	Mongoya	2363	1575	1559	66.95	16
5.	Mokokchung Town	2165	1315	1314	67.72	1
6.	Aunglenden	2583	2033	2030	78.59	3
7.	Koridang	2650	2004	1999	75.57	5
8.	Impur	2999	Uncontested	—	—	—
9.	Jangpetkong	3200	2310	2306	72.22	4
10.	Alongtaki	3162	Uncontested	—	—	—

In the State as a whole (excluding Tuensang district) 92 persons submitted their nomination papers for 40 seats. Of these, 5 were rejected on scrutiny. Then 14 persons withdraw their candidature and thus only 73 were left in the field to contest 26 seats only, 14 being uncontested.

Formation Of Ministry And Thereafter

Soon after the first General election, 1964, was over and the result declared by 19th January, 1964, the Assembly was formed with 46 members (Kohima district 19, Mokokchung 21 and Tuensang 6) and a Ministry was instituted. Sometime after there was a difference of opinion among the MLAs and some 14 of them resigned en-block in December, 1964. This necessitated by-election.

There was no political party at the first general election, but when there was difference of opinion between the two groups of MLAs, the majority party took the name Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO and the other party took the name United Front of Nagaland or UFN. The by-election of 14 seats was contested by these two political parties of the State and all the seats were won by the NNO. Thereafter till 16th February, 1969, when the Assembly was dissolved for the next election, it was virtually a single party rule in Nagaland.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1969

As the life of the State Assembly was 5 years the next general election was to take place in 1969. Therefore towards the end of 1968 preparation for revision of electoral rolls and its publication and setting up of election machinery were taken up.

This second general election, like the first one, was also for 40 seats (19 from Kohima and 21 from Mokokchung). But Tuensang district was given 12 seats this time instead of 6 of the first election.

The voting was on 6th & 10th February, 1969. The results were declared between 11th and 14th February. Polling took from 7-30 am to 3-30 pm without break.

Party, Symbol and Candidates

In the first general election there was no political party, but however, in the second general election the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO was accepted by the Election Commission as a political party according to table 2 of Reservation and Allotment Orders, 1968, and it was issued the symbol Mithun. On the other hand the newly formed political party United Front of Nagaland or UFN was registered as a political party under para 3 of the Election Symbol (Reservation and Allotment Order), 1968, and so was not issued any symbol. Therefore besides the reserved Mithun, six free symbols were issued and they were Elephant, Mug, Tiger, Hornbill, Log-drum and Cock ¹.

Thus it is seen that Log-drum is introduced in the second general election, 1969, in place of Mithun of the first general election which has gone to NNO as a political party.

For the 40 elective constituencies of Kohima and Mokokchung districts there were 154 nomination papers of which 3 were rejected on scrutiny and 7 were withdrawn. Thus remained 144 in the field to contest 40 seats. There were two women candidates of which one belonged to NNO and the other was an independent, but they lost.

1. Report on the Second General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1969, p-6

Of this 144 candidates, 40 were set up by NNO the only recognised political party of the State, and 30 were set up by the UFN, and 74 were independents. In the first general election 14 candidates were unopposed but in the second general election there was no unopposed candidate.

“According to the 1961 census, the total population of the two districts of Kohima and Mokokchung stood at 2,34,925. The total electorate of these two district for the second general election, 1969, stood at 1,76,931 as against the total electorate of 1.24,231 during the first General Election, 1964” ¹.

Position In Mokokchung Sub-Division

What is now Mokokchung district was only one of the three Sub-Divisions of the district of that name. (The other two were Wokha and Zunheboto). Its share of seat was 10, same with the first election.

Voting was by ballot as in the first general election. The results were declared between 11th and 14th February 1969 ².

Other details are given over leaf.

1. Report on the Second General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1969, p-5.
2. Ibid, p-10

DETAILS OF SECOND GENERAL ELECTION, 1969, IN THE THEN MOKOKCHUNG SUB-DIVISION
WHICH IS NOW A DISTRICT OF THE SAME NAME.

Sl. No.	Constituency	Electorate	Votes polled	% of votes polled	Valid votes	Invalid votes	Candidates contesting	Winner, votes polled by winner, and percentage.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Tuli	2875	2875	100	2858	Nil	NNO, UFN, IND=3	NNO 1409 49.30
2.	Arkakong	4804	4024	83.76	4001	1	NNO, UFN, IND=2=4	NNO 1267 31.14
3.	Yisemyong	4183	3369	80.54	3353	2	UFN, IND, NNO=3	UFN 1342 40.02
4.	Mongoya	2947	2691	91.31	2664	9	UFN, NNO, IND=3	UFN 984 36.94
5.	Mokokchung	4867	2686	55.19	2609	72	NNO, UFN, IND=3	NNO 1492 57.19
6.	Aunglenden	4214	3790	89.94	3764	2	UFN, NNO, IND=4=6	UFN 1003 26.67
7.	Koridang	3800	3134	82.47	3120	Nil	UFN, NNO, IND=2=4	UFN 1084 34.74
8.	Impur	4851	4285	88.33	4300	5	NNO, IND=2=3	NNO 2231 51.88
9.	Jangpetkong	4896	3724	76.06	3703	1	IND, NNO, UFN=3	IND 1513 40.86
10.	Alongtaki	4200	3549	84.50	3524	4	NNO, UFN, IND=4=6	NNO 85 33.63

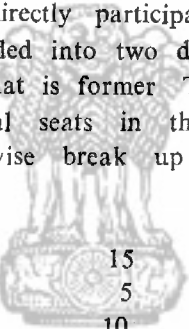
Source: Report on the Second General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1969. In this statement the valid votes and invalid votes together do not come to the figures of votes polled. It is due to some missing votes.

Formation Of Ministry

After the second general election, 1969, the NNO came to power and formed the Ministry which continued till the next election.

THIRD GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1974

In the time of creation of the State of Nagaland which came into being on 1st December, 1963, it was decided that Tuensang district would remain a special charge of the Governor for ten years, and the 10-year term was over by 1st December 1973. Therefore the third general election to Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974, was directly participated by Tuensang district which was by then divided into two districts such as Tuensang and Mon. The district, that is former Tuensang, was allotted 20 seats, and then the total seats in the Assembly came to be $40+20=60$. The district-wise break up of seats for the new districts is the following.



Kohima	:	15
Phek	:	5
Mokokchung	:	10
Wokha	:	4
Zunheboto	:	6
Tuensang	:	13
Mon	;	7

In this third general election all the seats except two were contested. Those two are Akuluto in Zunheboto district and Tobu in Tuensang district.

Party And Symbols

In the first general election, 1964, there was no political party in this State and so only free symbols were issued. In the second general election, 1969, the NNO was the only recognised State party and it was issued the symbol Mithun. In the meantime the United Front of Nagaland changed its name and contested the third general election under the name United Democratic Front or UDF. Thus in the election of 1974 there were two political

parties such as NNO and UDF. The NNO was issued its symbol Mithun and the UDF was issued a Cock. Apart from this, some five free symbols were issued. They are the following.

- 1) Hornbill
- 2) Tiger
- 3) Mug
- 4) Log-drum
- 5) Elephant.

But in view of the fact that the number of contesting candidates seeking free symbols would be more than five, the Election Commission issued three more free symbols such as a Flaming Torch, Bow and Arrow, and a Pair of Pigeon.

Thus total of free symbols came to be eight.

Candidates

The total number of nomination papers filed for all this 60 seats was 234. There was no woman candidate this time. Nomination papers of three candidates were rejected on scrutiny. One candidate died and eleven candidates withdrew their candidature¹. Thus it left 219 to contest 58 seats. Of this, NNO set up 57 candidates, UDF 52, and 108 were independents².

Electorate

"The population of Nagaland according to 1971 census is 5,16,449. The total electorate of the entire State for Third General Election, 1974, stood at 4,06,374. Thus the number of voters worked out at 78.69 percent of the total population. The total electorate during first General Election, 1964, was 1,24,231 which were exclusive of the electorates in Tuensang district which did not take part directly in the 1st and 2nd General Elections under the provisions of clause (a) of Sub-Clause II of the Nagaland Act, 1962." ³

1. Report the Third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974. p-14
2. Report on the Third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974, p-14
3. Ibid, p-11

Election Programme And Voting

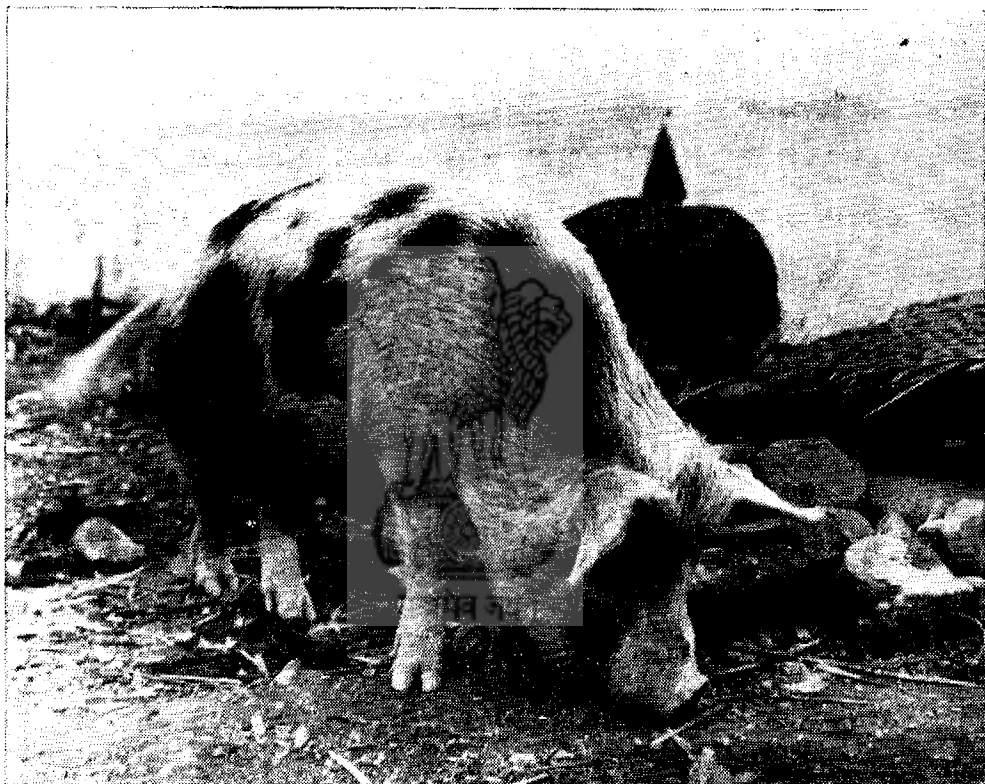
The last date of submission of nomination papers was 16th January, 1974 and the date of scrutiny was the next day. Last date of withdrawal of candidature was 19th January and the dates of poll were 12th, 14th and 16th February, 1974. The results of all the elections were declared between 19th and 20th February, 1974.

All the constituencies were single seated like the previous elections.

In the first and second general elections, 1964 and 1969 respectively, the voting was by balloting. But in the third general election, 1974, marking system of voting was introduced in Nagaland to bring it at par with the rest of the country and it was a success to some extent.

Position In the District

Of the total 60 Assembly seats of the State in the third general election, 1974, Mokokchung district had 10, as earlier. All these seats were contested and no seat was unopposed. Names of some constituencies was changed. Details of the polling are given next page.



Pig is the most important domestic animal since people relish pork very much.



An old Ao woman posing for the camera

DETAILS OF THIRD GENERAL ELECTION, 1974, IN RESPECT OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

Sl. No.	Constituency	Electorate	Total votes polled	% of votes polled	Valid votes	Invalid votes	Candidates contesting	Winner, votes polled by winner, and percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Tuli	7805	6242	79.97	6165	77	NNO, UDF=2	NNO / 3198 / 51.87
2.	Arkakong	8222	6960	85.53	6895	55	NNO, UDF=2	NNO / 3521 / 51.06
3.	Impur	10064	7891	78.41	7765	126	NNO, UDF, IND-2=4	NNO / 2962 / 38.14
4.	Angetyongpang/ Yisemyong	6768	5117	75.61	5019	98	UDF, IND, NNO=3	UDF / 2213 / 44.09
5.	Monguya	6823	4779	70.04	4674	105	UDF, NNO, IND=3	UDF / 2347 / 50.22
6.	Aunglenden	6576	4683	71.21	4604	79	UDF, IND, NNO=3	UDF / 2148 / 46.66
7.	Mokokchung	3343	1560	46.64	1521	39	NNO, UDF, IND-3=5	NNO / 656 / 43.13
8.	Koridang	8184	6851	83.71	6731	120	UDF, NNO, IND-2=4	UDF / 2531 / 37.69
9.	Jangpetkong	9365	7034	75.11	6898	136	NNO, UDF, IND-3=5	IND / 2602 / 37.72
10.	Alongtaki	6495	5881	82.85	5319	62	UDF, NNO, IND-3=5	UDF / 2084 / 39.18

Source : Report on the Third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974.

It seems that the introduction of voting by marking was responsible for a greater number of invalid votes in the third general election, 1974, in comparison to the first and second elections. The table below will show it clearly.

NUMBER OF INVALID VOTES

Constituency	1964	1969	1974
1. Tuli	Nil	Nil	77
2. Arkakong	Uncontested	1	55
3. Yisemyong/ Angetyongpang	Uncontested	2	98
4. Mongoya	Nil	9	105
5. Mokokchung	Nil	72	39
6. Aonglenden	Nil	2	79
7. Koridang	Nil	Nil	120
8. Impur	Uncontested	5	126
9. Jangpetkong	Nil	1	136
10. Alongtaki	Uncontested	4	62

After the third general election, 1974, some of the Independent candidates joined the UDF and it got a majority in the House and formed the Ministry. This Ministry lasted for only one year and in March, 1975, it was voted out and NNO came to power. But it lived only for ten days and then President's Rule was imposed.

FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION, 1977

The previous Assembly was dissolved in March '75 and President's Rule was imposed. The President's Rule continued for thirtytwo months and the fourth general election took place in November 1977. Report of this is not yet (September '78) out, so the details, as much as possible, have been collected from other sources and from the personal knowledge of the Editor himself.

Party And Symbols

Formerly there was a State party called Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO. In 1976 this Party merged into Indian National Congress and so became Nagaland Pradesh Congress or simply Congress. Formerly as NNO this party was using Mithun as their election symbol, but after becoming Congress they were allotted the Calf and Cow symbol. So they fought the Fourth General Election with the reserved symbol Calf and Cow. The other State party, United Democratic Front, also had a reserved symbol and it was Cock.

Apart from these two reserved symbols, some six free symbols were issued. They are.

- 1) Hornbill
- 2) Tiger
- 3) Mug
- 4) Logdrum
- 5) Elephant
- 6) Naga



It may be noted that another party came into being before the election and it was National Convention of Nagaland or NCN. This party was not given any reserved symbol by Election Commission because it did not fulfil the criterion for getting a reserved symbol. But however among themselves they made it practically a reserved symbol since this party, National Convention of Nagaland or NCN, fought the election with the symbol Naga, and others did not use it

However apart from the above six free symbols three more free symbols were issued in view of the fact that the contestants may be more than six in some constituencies. These three free symbols are,

- 1) Flaming Torch
- 2) Bow and Arrow
- 3) A Pair of Pigeon.

An analysis of the election symbols show that the total number of reserved symbols is same both in third and fourth

general elections, but only Mithun was replaced by Calf and Cow. The total number of free symbols of course were increased by one over the third general election when it was eight only. And the new symbol was a Naga, which, though free, was used by the new party NCN, that is, National Convention of Nagaland.

Constituencies and Candidates

Like the third general election, in the fourth general election also the number of seats allotted to Mokokchung district was ten. There was no unopposed candidate neither there was any woman candidate. There were altogether 29 candidates in the field to contest this ten seats. The details of candidates and polling etc are given below ¹.

1. TULI constituency was contested by four candidates—one each from UDF and Congress and two Independents. Total electorate was 1839. The seat was won by UDF candidate who secured 2845 votes.
2. ARKAKONG constituency was contested by six candidates—one each from Congress, UDF and NCN and three Independents. The total number of voters was 5,588. The seat was secured by UDF candidate who bagged 1,806 votes.
3. IMPUR constituency was contested by three candidates—one each from UDF and Congress and one Independent. Total electorate was 5,347. The seat was captured by UDF candidate who got 1,847 votes.
4. ANGETYONGPANG constituency was contested by only two candidates—UDF and Independent. The total voters were 5,556. The seat went to the UDF candidate who got 2,783 votes.
5. MONGOYA constituency was contested by only two persons—one UDF and one Independent. The electorate was 1,892. The seat was bagged by the UDF candidate who polled 2,275 votes.
6. AUNGLENDEN constituency was contested by two candidates—one UDF and the other NCN. The total electorate was 5250. The seat was bagged by UDF candidate who got 2688 votes.

1. Source : Ura Mail (dated 26th November, 1977) a weekly magazine of Nagaland, published from Dimapur. The official report on the fourth general election not being out yet (September, 1978) we have used the materials from Ura Mail.

7. MOKOKCHUNG TOWN constituency was contested by two candidates—one UDF and one Independent. Total voters were only 1405. The seat went to the UDF candidate who polled 827 votes.
8. KORIDANG constituency was contested by three candidates—one each from UDF and NCN and one Independent. The total electorate was 5938. The seat went to the UDF candidate who secured 2102 votes.
9. JANGPETKONG constituency was contested by three candidates—two Independents and one UDF. The total electorate was 5363. The seat was captured by the UDF candidate who got 2045 votes.
10. ALONGDAKI constituency was contested by two candidates—one each from UDF and Congress. Total electorate was 4288. The seat was captured by the UDF candidate who got 2156 votes.

Formation Of Ministry

In the fourth general election held in November 1977, the UDF came out as the majority party. Some Independents also joined it. In November itself the Ministry was formed. In this Ministry there were eight Cabinet Ministers including the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister, and there were four Ministers of State. Unlike previous Ministries, there was no Deputy Minister till September '78. This is the first time also that Nagaland had a Deputy Chief Minister. In April '78 one Cabinet Minister and two Ministers of State were inducted into the Ministry and again in September '78 one Minister of State and one Deputy Minister have been included and so at present (September '78) the strength of Ministry is seventeen in a house of sixty. And then of course one Speaker and one Deputy Speaker are also there.

In this Ministry there are four Ministers from Mokokchung district—two cabinet Ministers including the Deputy Chief Minister and two Ministers of State.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

From the standpoint of population Nagaland is a small constituency and does not come up for a seat in Lok Sabha. But, however, it has been allotted one seat in Lok Sabha

and one seat in Rajya Sabha. The sitting member of NHTA for the Lok Sabha was allowed to continue since NHTA and Nagaland are the same place. But since there was no member from this State into the Rajya Sabha the newly elected Assembly of 1964, immediately took up the case of sending its representative to Rajya Sabha.

Rajya Sabha

One seat was allotted to Nagaland for Rajya Sabha (Council of States) and the State Assembly (Nagaland has got only one House) arranged for election of its sole representative to Rajya Sabha.

In 1964, the number of members of the Nagaland Assembly was 46. Of this electorate only 32 persons voted. There were only two contestants of which one got 31 votes and the other got only one and so lost his security deposit as it was less than one-sixth of the total valid votes polled. None of the candidates belonged to any political party.

The voting took place on 2nd March, 1964, and the result was declared the same very day by the Returning Officer, the Secretary, Legislative Assembly ¹.

The next election to Rajya Sabha took place in 1968. The seat was uncontested and it went to NNO. Other details are not available.

Third election to Rajya Sabha took place in 1974. Total electorate (the MLAs) was 60, and all voted. There were two contestants, one each from UDF and NNO, and UDF won the seat. Other details are not available.

Lok Sabha

Nagaland has been allotted one Lok Sabha seat inspite of the low population and therefore low electorate, in comparison to other Lok Sabha constituencies of the rest of the country.

The first election to Lok Sabha from this area, then NHTA, was due to be held in early 1962, but the candidate was uncontested and so there was no election.

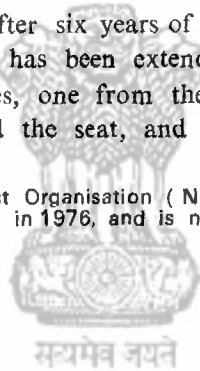
1. Report on the First General Election, 1963,p-8.

The next election took place in 1967, but this time also the seat was uncontested and it went to the same person who by that time became a nominee of the NNO

The third election to Lok Sabha, a mid-term poll, took place in 1971. It was contested by two candidates, one from UDF and the other from NNO. Total electorate was 1,75,459 of which 1,48,125 persons exercised their franchise. Only 100 votes were invalid. The seat was won by the UDF candidate by getting 89,514 votes while the NNO candidate got 58,511 votes and lost. District wise or other details are not available.

The fourth Lok Sabha election from Nagaland took place in March, 1977, that is, after six years of the previous election as the life of the last Lok Sabha has been extended, from five to six years. This time two candidates, one from the Congress ¹ and another from the UDF, contested the seat, and UDF won it.

1. The Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO) has merged into the Indian National Congress in 1976, and is now designated as Nagaland Pradesh Congress.



CHAPTER XIX

PLACES OF INTEREST

Mokokchung district adjoins the Sibsagar plains of Assam and therefore though it is hilly it gradually rises from the plains. From the plains the district looks like waves of clouds—each succeeding hill rises higher and higher and shows like wave behind wave.

As we have already mentioned, the district lies 'beyond innerline' of the country and therefore to enter into this district permit is required for any non-Naga or for any body who is not a permanent resident of this district. The same thing applies to the rest of the State also except the plains area. This permit is available from the Deputy Commissioner on payment of 50 paise, subject to satisfactory indentity. For this purpose, that is for checking the entry of unauthorised persons into the hills of this district, there are check posts at the meeting places of the plains with the hills of the State. One such check-post is at Chumukedima, 15 km from Dimapur, inside the State, in Kohima district. That is the entry to Kohima, the capital. There are such chek-posts at Amguri and Mariani through which people are required to pass to come to this district.

The district being hilly the landscape is fascinating to the plains people who are not used to see hills. The district has got several small valleys such as Changki Valley near Changki village and Tuli Valley near Tuli, and those look beautiful amidst the surrounding hills. Most of the hills are habitable and there is no lofty or snow covered peak (the district is on the average 1500 metre above sealevel). The land is not too high for luxuriant growth of vegetation and the soil is good for trees and as such the entire district is covered by green vegetation most of which shed the leaves in winter. There are big trees in the jungles and some of them are even 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ metre in diameter.

The climate of the district being cool and salubrious it is enjoyable for six months of the year when there is no rains. During March-April, when the jhum fields are burnt the hill-sides look like many fire places at night. Soon after this the lands are cultivated and it looks like barren lands amidst verdant vegetation. After a month or two the paddy plants grow big and look like a green carpet stretched on the hill side. A few months later, just before the harvest, the fields look like a sheet of golden carpet.

Thus the natural scenery throughout the year, changing from season to season, is beautiful.

The people are colourful and it is more interesting than the natural scenery. Modern educated men and women are as plain as any other people of the plains, but the less educated or unlettered rustic damsels of the interior villages are as grotesque as any other tribal of any other place with their colourful mekhala¹. To see a long file of such women going to the field in the morning or coming from field in the setting sun, being guarded by men in the rear with dazzling spear in hand, is a sight worth seeing.

So far actual places of interest are concerned they are few and far between. Yet a few words about them are said below.

MOKOKCHUNG TOWN is the headquarters of the district. It is situated in the heart of the district in a central place. It has to be reached from the Sibsagar plain of Assam via Amguri or Mariani and the distance is 70 km by bus (Mokokchung-Amguri). Mokokchung Town is about 1500 metre above sealevel. It overlooks the Assam plains on the west and the hills on east. There are many fine buildings and shops in this town. There is a fine Circuit House as well as one Dak-Bungalow in this town (A tourist lodge is under construction now, 1978). In the heart of the town, near the Police Point and the Church there is a very fine tower clock. It adds to the beauty to the town. There are

1. Formerly, even a decade back, Ao women used to wear many stringed bead-necklaces, bangles earrings etc various ornaments but nowadays they seldom use it. Now they are colourful only in mekhala and chadar.

several churches in the town of which one is very fine and spacious. There is a big Town Hall also. Near the town there is a lofty hillock which looks over the town below and is adorned with a fine public park.

TULI is the second most important station, yet to grow up, in this district. It is situated nearer the plains than the hills and is 68 km by bus from Mokokchung on the way to Amguri. A paper mill of the capacity of 100 tons per day has been set up in this place. As a result of this paper mill it is growing into a town. There is a proposal to connect Tuli with Amguri by railway and survey for that has been taken up.

IMPUR in one sense is the birth place of the modern Aos because it is here that the Christianity first took to roots and a 'mission compound' was set up. It goes without saying that the advancement of the Ao people can be attributed to the spread of Christianity and therefore Impur is the citadel of the Aos who are now almost cent percent Christian. There is a Centenary Hall built in 1972 in commemoration of the first introduction of Christianity in this area which took place in Molungyimchen village. Dr E. W. Clark, the Christian Missionary, came to Mopungchukit village in 1882 and begged a place to set up his camp. The villagers gave him a site which has later come to be known as Impur, meaning place of the pioneer. Impur is actually a part of Mopungchukit and Sungratsu villages but has got a separate identity by virtue of its having the 'mission compound'. Impur is about 17 km from Mokokchung town.

In MOPUNGCHUKIT village there is an R.C.C. spiral tower of about 12 metre height. It is constructed in memory of a love story of a young man and woman named Jina and Ediben. From this tower we can see Mokokchung town which is 18 km by road but only about 10 km as the crow flies.

UNGMA is a village of historical importance. It is the first village that the Aos set up after crossing Dikhu river from the east. Due to some unfortunate accident in which a man was lost, the people deserted the village, but reoccupied it later. This is called the parent village of the Aos. It is said that this village is 32 generations that is approximately 800 years

old. The village is big and second biggest in Nagaland, only next to Kohima village in Kohima district. Not only it is physically big but it has got a big influence on the people also. It is only 5 km from Mokokchung town.

CHANGKI is also a village. It is about 40 km from Mokokchung on the way to Mariani. This village is important because it is the home of many important people in the entire Ao area. Not only that, probably it is the most important village in the entire world because it has got more than one hundred Gazetted Officers working at present, out of a total population of 2279 (1971 census). Probably nowhere in the world such a village is found. It may be noted that it is a heterogenous village, that is, its people have got Ao as well as other bloods among them.

LONGKHUM is a village of importance. It is 9 km from Mokokchung town and is the highest village in the district. It is the coldest village too of this district and gets a little bit of frost in winter which no other village in this district gets. One peculiarity of this village is this that unlike other villages this village celebrates the Tsungrem-mong and Moatsu festivals with much more enthusiasm and liveliness than other villages, as the people in pre-Christian days used to do. It is so because though almost all the people (except a few houses) of this village are Christian by faith, they do not mind taking part in the celebrations in the way non-Christians do. This village has got second biggest number of graduates among the Aos, only next to Changki.

CHANGTONGYA and CHUCHUYIMLANG are two road side stations on the way from Mokokchung to Amguri. Changtongya is 33 km from Mokokchung and Chuchuyimlang is about 20. Their importance lies in the fact that they are road side stations and growing to small townships. Both of them have got one High School, one hospital, one administrative Officer etc, each. In both the places very fine orange and pineapple are available, and Changtongya is noted particularly for its pineapple.

MERANGKONG is a village of historical interest. It fought with Molungyimchen village necessitating the intervention of the Sub-Divisional Officer who had his troops from Wokha occupied the village until a few ring leaders were delivered. Molungyinchen-

Merangkong feuds seemed to centre round claim over some trade monopoly. Again Longchang Lepzuk, the first of local Christian convert, hailed from this village. He died during the Konyak invasion of Merangkong in 1881 when he came to conciliate with the invaders. That happened when the Konyaks put to the sword many inhabitants of the village and ravaged it completely. Not long after this, Mokokchung Sub-Division was formed.

MOLUNGYIMCHEN is another village of historical importance. It was known to the Assamese as Deka Haimong. Some 9 people of this village were first converted into Christianity from Sibsagar in 1872. Though they were converted in Assam they were the second batch of Ao people, only next to Longjang Lepzuk of Merangkong village and some people from Longjang village who were converted into Christianity in 1851 in Sibsagar. The first Christian missionary namely Kutula Babu or Godhula Babu, an Assamese, came to Molungyimchen village, in 1872. Soon some 9 people were converted into christianity but the people of the village did not like the Christians to stay in that village and so the Christians set up a new village called Molungyimsen (new Molung), some 3 miles north of the parent village. It was in the new village that the first Primary School of this district started in 1878.

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